The Workers
nguard

Vol. 5, No. 2(50) 23 MID-JAN. 1960 Toronto—Price 5 cents

UNION BUSTERS SHARPEN LINE

By P. KENT

The anti-union drive, the campaign to hamstring the organized labor movement of this country, is moving into the field of higher, of federal politics, into the rarified atmosphere that pervades the Bank of Canada, and has even swept up a "labor statesman" to add to its false face of impartiality.

But while the arguments may appear to be more sophisticated, their mouthpieces more "reasonable", the conclusions have the same McCarthy-like simplicity of the Manufacturers Association's.

The union ranks must be deprived of their elementary right to withhold their labor—the right to strike—strikes are upsetting the stability of the economy. The unions must, instead of fighting for higher wages, become disciplinary organizations and get more production out of the workers. Labor, so the story goes, is pricing us (worker and industrial tycoon alike) out of the world market. While it is not exactly spelled out the suggestion is, in order to preserve our way of life we are going to have to give it up. Labor will have to work harder and for less—move in the direction of cooley labor while the colonial peoples, working under a planned economy, move away from it.

Last month, to the applause of banquetting delegates to the Progressive Conservative Party convention, Prime Minister Diefenbaker hypocritically declared that the country's economic strength and export trade courts disaster, unless labor exercises reason and restraint in seeking higher wages. Finance Minister Fleming buttered-up an overflow audience at the Toronto Canadian Club with the encouraging statement that Canadian capitalists should keep their costs down or face the prospect of pricing themselves out of the market.

According to Bank of Canada governor James E. Coyne "we are not producing ourselves out of our import deficit . . . we have gone into the development of facilities for our greater comfort and enjoyment." He found an echo in Professor Stephen Triantis, speaking to the Toronto UN Association, who urged that we need leaders—"true leaders who instead of handing out promises of a comfortable and easy life will make life more difficult now."

But the prize that has set the labor haters into a paroxysm of ecstasy is the addition of the voice of BC CCF MP Harold Winch to their chorus. Repeating their arguments like a ventriloquist's dummy, Winch told a CCF audience, upon his return from a government junket of the Far East, that whatever country he was in, BC is known as "where you have all the strikes. I learned that it is stability they want from us."

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...iet CP Differ
...er Peace Role

...F COTTON

The defacing of signs with swastikas, which began in Western Europe and spread to North and South America, Africa and Australia, has taken place in Ontario, too. Swastikas have been painted on Toronto, Ontario synagogues. Peter Renkema, highways department worker, takes down a sign outside London, Ont.

Lessons of the World-Wide Anti-Semitic Outbreak

By THE EDITORS

The rash of anti-Semitic acts that swept through Germany following the swastika smear of a Cologne synagogue Christmas eve,

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DIEF & BANKER PHONEY LINE TO JUSTIFY UNION SMASHING

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To BC woodworkers, Winch offered the advice to work harder and longer for the wages they are getting. "Australia is no longer going to buy BC lumber . . . the people in those countries like us but they say quite frankly that they don't have to give us a living." No matter what MacMillan & Bloedel, which paid 87 cents a share in 1958, will pay $1.20 to $1.30 a share this year, on the basis of the first half year's returns.

But contrary to all the arguments about strikes, no one has shown any relation between them and labor productivity, between them and "either prosperity or poverty," according to the Financial Post. A United Kingdom Information Service report, dealing with the number of days lost through stoppages, lockouts and strikes per year per 1,000 workers in the decade 1949-58, shows the US, the most industrially advanced nation, with the highest (1,330) and India, a poor and low wage economy, with 930, much higher than Canada's 750.

As for exports—in 1959 Canadian exports reached a record peak of 5,179 million dollars, an increase of 3.1 per cent over the 1958 figure. The charge that Canada is a strike-torn, low-production

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and high-wage area, has not inhibited foreign capital from investing and re-investing in Canada. British investment now stands well over 3 billion dollars. American capital now controls well over 52 per cent of the mining industry and 43 per cent of manufacturing

Dividend payments paid out by Canadian companies for 1959 are the highest in history—over 736 million dollars and almost 2 per cent ahead of the previous peak—135 per cent ahead of the pre-war peak. And as banker Coyne observed in an off moment, "real capital can only come into existence through the application of human labor to produce durable things, not by the multiplication of money or credit."

While profits gouged out of Canadian labor are at an all-time high, price-gouging has been slashing into real wages. The past four months, each month higher than the previous one, has seen the cost of living index smash all previous records.

It is ironical to hear government spokesmen talk about inflationary pressures and waste in the economy, and at the same time spend billions on military equipment. Their cries about loss in production due to strikes to meet the rising cost of living, are indeed hypocritical. In mid-December there were, according to government figures, 370,000 unemployed. Not as high as last December, the post-war high, but moving up at the same rate. This aspect of the instability of the economy and loss of production does not at all disturb big business or their political lackeys.

The truth is that labor costs in Canada are lower than in eight of the leading trading nations of the world for which statistics are available — lower than West Germany, Japan and the US. Of course Canadian workers are paid many times more than their Japanese brothers. According to CLC researcher Russ Bell, wages per Canadian workers were 5½ times as great as that for Japanese. But the average output of the Canadian worker was 9½ times as great. Canada has a lower ratio of labor income in manufacturing per worker to value of output, than five countries—namely Denmark, India, Japan, the United Kingdom and the US.

Labor is only one of the factors in prices. In the Canadian farm implement industry the wage bill has gone up 43 per cent but prices have gone up 94 per cent. The total workers employed dropped 31 per cent, production per worker rose 18 per cent.

Canadian steel prices are not at all determined by Canadian wages, but by US steel prices. The same holds true for Canada's principal exports such as newsprint and iron ore—they are determined in the US market.

American-Canadian capital in RCA Victor and General Electric explains with regret that low wages of Japanese workers are placing Canadian electronics in an unfavorable position. If they chose they could soon rectify that by ordering their vast interests in Japan to raise the wages of their Japanese employees. But what would they gain? As the Globe and Mail mining editor wrote recently "The primary aim of business is to make the greatest possible profit with the least possible effort."

The truth is that the working people have no control over prices. But they do have some say over wages and conditions. They can refuse to work for low wages—and back up their words with strike or threat of strike. That is what the anti-labor drive is about. To weaken, to cripple and eventually destroy the organized labor movement. The living standards and the social well-being of all the Canadian working people are at stake.

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Lessons of the World-Wide Anti-Semitic Outbreak

By THE EDITORS Mid Jan/60

The rash of anti-Semitic acts that swept through Germany following the swastika smear of a Cologne synagogue Christmas eve, has shocked the conscience of humanity. But while the pestilence is apparently more rooted and widespread in Germany, it didn't stop there. The filthy daubings appeared across the globe, and in several places in Canada.

This alone refutes the contention that anti-Semitism is peculiar to Germany and to the German character. A further refutation was the inspiring torchlight demonstration of 40,000 German youth led by the socialist Falcons in protest against the vandals. The youth of West Germany pointed the finger at the Adenauer regime.

The Adenauer regime is honeycombed with former Nazis. But who is to blame? Didn't the allied governments, following the war they proclaimed to be against fascism, have the opportunity to eliminate them? But the US state department and its allies de-

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Anti-Semitic Vandalism

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cided that Germany should remain capitalist. As they refurbished the government to be a king-pin in the anti-Communist alliance, the Nazis naturally came to the fore. Hitler's General Speidel is commander of NATO ground forces. The exploiter of slave labor, Alfred Krupp, who backed Hitler to the hilt, has won another year's grace to build up his empire.

Anti-Semitism in Germany is the responsibility of capitalism and the whole NATO partnership, which includes those who rule Canada. The filth that raised its head elsewhere shows how virulent anti-Semitism is throughout the West. It is endemic in capitalist society. It feeds on the frustrations, the insecurities, the fear of the future, that capitalism imposes on people.

The shock can have a salutary effect! These filthy acts show that if we don't get on with the job of eliminating capitalism it will breed all the conditions necessary for another Hitler.

An Illustrative Experience

Given the possibilities of some real gains the ranks of the working people will show themselves to contain vast reserves of totally untapped strength, both for trade unionism and for socialism. Yes, even today, in this so-called affluent society on the North American continent.

We know that idea flies in the face of current opinion, both on the right and on the left. How many times do we hear such superficialities and rationalizations: "the people get the leadership they deserve," the people aren't ready for or don't understand so and so proposal, "the workers are their own worst enemy." Nonetheless we are of the opinion that the primary problem confronting mankind is the crisis of leadership.

Of course we believe the revolutionary socialist program to be the correct one. That an organization such as the Socialist Educational League, which expounds that viewpoint remains small and relatively isolated, doesn't refute the above contention.

The working class is not in struggle, testing old programs, searching for the BEST instrument—they don't see the problem at this time as one of correctness of program. They are in what you might say, a practical frame of mind. Holding memberships in massive organizations, they have no time for small ones, no matter how correct. In order to be launched into struggle they need to be presented with some possibilities for success.

They have been rendered apathetic by a false conception of the enemy's strength; they suffer from frustration and the defeat of old aspirations; they feel alienated not only from society but from one another—they sense the lack of unity in the class. They see no alternative possibilities—above all they feel the lack of effective leadership.

A small item being syndicated in the labor press throws light on this question. It is to the point for it involves the question of race prejudice Is there any form of bigotry that is more widespread, even in advanced and socially conscious circles?

"Much social mythology lies behind the belief that most people are hopelessly bigoted," writes Alan Borovy, executive secretary of the Toronto and District Labor Committee for Human Rights, "and would therefore regard fair housing legislation as an unwarranted intrusion on their privacy. . . . Nothing could be further from the truth" he declares, on the basis of considerable practical and on-the-spot struggles in the St. Catharines, Hamilton and Windsor areas against actions of a discriminatory nature by landlords, real estate agents and builders against Negroes and Eurasions.

Given leadership, where people in the community concerned were provided the opportunity, encouraged to express their opinion, the concept that they are bigoted was blasted to bits. "The problem with public opinion lies not in bigotry but rather apathy. Once they are jarred or jolted," writes Borovy, "most people react in sympathy with the victims of discrimination."

"The problem is that the small minority of bigots (and those who have economic interests in sustaining bigotry editor) shouts louder than the great majority of decent people. The inaction and reserve of fair-minded people permits the bigot to win by default. In this way the bigot creates an illusion of strength which he does not have."

This holds true for the strength of the Deifenbaker government and the capitalist class itself. The influence of the Tories and the acceptance of capitalism is both real and illusory—due in large part to the inaction of its opponents and their lack of confidence in their own capacities and the capacities of the working class. And the same holds true for the apparent strength of the trade union brass and the right wing leadership in the CCF and the developing labor party.

The forces of militant struggle for human progress, for socialism, are strong and deep. But they need to be called up, mobilized, given perspective, shown the possibilities.

How We Can Lick That Gang of Price Gougers

THE EDITORS

When Mrs. R. W. Morningstar of the Canadian Association of Consumers made a suggestion to the annual rally of the Dairy Farmers of Canada she was laughed and booed off the platform. And yet to our mind her suggestion was much more reasonable than any one of the many that came out of the two-year-long investigation by the Royal Commission on Price Spreads of Food Products, which Prime Minister Diefenbaker told the house this month cost the taxpayers almost $300,000.

While they pointed out that five of the major chain stores admitted an average profit on their capital investment, after taxes, of more than 15 per cent each year from 1949 to 1957, the commissioners made no suggestions that would curb this ruthless profit gouging. Rather they urged that a code of ethics be drafted up to cut down misleading advertising. The code which the commission, with a straight face, characterized as part of a "defence of the sovereignty of the consumer," they proposed, should be drawn up by the food industry and the Association of Canadian Advertisers. This gem of an idea, that the culprit and his mouthpiece should draft up the law under which the prosecution has to make its case, didn't even get a laugh.

The commission also suggested that an office be set up in the Justice Department to which consumer groups could send representations and express their views. Through this office, measures apparently available to protect consumers, and services available to them, would be publicized.

After the justice that was dispensed to E. P. Taylor's beer monopoly and the evidence of drug supplier J. R. Gilbert, we doubt that there is anyone who would take this suggestion seriously. Commenting on the US Senate anti-trust sub committee hearings, where it was revealed that a drug company made a mark-up on one batch of medicine of 7,079 per cent, Mr. Gilbert said that drug

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How To Lick Price Gougers

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mark-ups in Canada are often greater than in the US. As president of a Toronto drug supply firm, he told the press that he made his first representation regarding this situation to government officials in Ottawa about 2½ years ago. According to Gilbert, Justice Minister Fulton has the power to bring about a reduction in the price of medicine merely by enforcing section 30 of the Combines Investigation Act.

Mrs. Morningstar's proposition was simple. All she suggested was that consumers should be represented on such bodies as the public milk control board. She thought her request reasonable, for after all the consumers not only pay the prices demanded but pay the taxes that go to support dairy research, milk boards, cheese and egg subsidies, etc. To the members of the Dairy Farmers of Canada this was a ridiculous and shocking idea. Where would it all end? But to us it has long seemed to be an entirely reasonable proposition. Are wages pricing Canadian products out of the world market? Who is benefiting from increased productivity? What is behind the inflationary price rises that are cutting pensioners cheques to ribbons? Consumers' committees on prices, probing into marketing techniques, examining the books of the big corporations, throwing light onto business secrets, machinations and frauds, could answer all these questions beyond a shadow of a doubt. The farmers' movements, trade unions, housewives' organizations, should form such delegated bodies and the quicker the better.

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Competition With The USSR

What has happened to Prime Minister Diefenbaker's vision? It's not 20 20, nor even 10 10. He has lost it.

It was not long ago that he assured the electorate that no Canadian would suffer through unemployment under any government he led. Yet last month over 788,000 Canadians were registered as unemployed and no one would deny that a considerable number of them and their families are suffering real hardships.

And it was not long ago that he projected a vivid image of an ever-expanding economy, the opening up of the Northern frontier, horizons unlimited. Yet the press is full of the tragedy of Elliot Lake where 4,100 uranium miners will lose their jobs within the next 12 months and the model community will become a ghost town.

Today Diefenbaker sees nothing but difficulties. It would require a king's ransom, he cried out to Canadian Labor Congress officials when they presented their annual legislative brief of modest demands. Now the whole economy is threatened with disaster. Not from atomic warheads and ballistic missiles but by trade torpedoes from the Soviet Union. Instead of security, economic well-being, increasing opportunities for human initiative, the vision Mr. Diefenbaker now projects is—work harder, ask for less, pull in our belts—competition with the Soviet Union.

Compete in what area, Mr. Diefenbaker? From our observations the whole trend in Soviet society is towards an increasing establishment of the economic well being and long frustrated political rights of the Soviet people. We could name a few areas in which we are sure no Canadian worker would like anything better than to compete with the Soviet Union.

For instance, since 1953, according to Khrushchov, Soviet gross industrial production increased 90 per cent—the US only 11 per cent. Coal production increased 58 per cent while Canada registered a catastrophic decrease. There are no idle plants or unemployed in the Soviet Union. More than 13 million workers have been put on a reduced 7½ hour and 6 hour day without a reduction in pay. According to the Tory-appointed president of York University, Canada would have to triple its spending on education to match proportionately the amount spent in Russia. Soviet statisticians predict that by 1965 industrial output will increase another 80 per cent and the sale of consumers' goods will increase four and more times.

The Canadian working people would, without the slightest doubt, welcome a contest with the Soviet Union in any and all these fields. Canada as part of North American economy would enter the competition with a splendid head-start. The industrial equipment available is more extensive than the USSR's—more modern. We have a higher level of productivity and as yet are probably more skilled.

Soviet economy, despite the boasts of Khrushchov, is no ways near communism—in fact its principal economic task, as so much of Soviet propaganda testifies, is to catch up with capitalism. And so we have a head start.

There is one thing that stands in the way and its hanging on will cost us the race—the private ownership of the means of production on this continent. Capitalism is holding back the economy and undermining all previous achievements. We will certainly face Diefenbaker's challenge of blood, sweat and tears if we don't eliminate it.

The planning of Canadian economy by those who work, in their own interest—win, lose or draw in the contest with the USSR—opens up incredible vistas for the Canadian people. In this race we will all be winners. For the continued achievements of the Soviet economy promise the development of the forces which will establish the political democracy which the Soviet workers have not yet been able to realize.

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To Win A Lasting Peace Two Roads—Which Way?

Mar/60

By P. KENT

How to block the Diefenbaker government's drive to nuclear arm Canada? How to mobilize and give direction to the rising concern over Canada's foreign policy? How to eliminate the danger of war and establish a lasting peace? An ever widening layer of Canadians are puzzling over these questions.

The massive contradiction between the words of peace and goodwill expressed by the Eisenhowers, the De Gaulles, the Macmillans and Diefenbakers, and their stepped-up drive to arm all areas under their control and zones they influence, is causing many who never before thought of, let alone acted upon, the questions of war and peace, to do so now.

A wide divergence of opinion on this crucial question was brought home to the audience coming out of the Canadian premier of the movie On The Beach who were handed two leaflets. One was circulated by friends and supporters of the Socialist Educational League, the other by supporters of the Toronto Association for Peace.

The SEL leaflet titled THERE IS STILL TIME exposed and condemned the hypocrisy of the Diefenbaker government, urged actions against its nuclear arms drive along the lines of protest resolutions and demonstrations such as the McGill student motorcade onto Ottawa. It called for all-out support to the CCF parliamentary caucus, to encourage it to live up to its pledge to oppose nuclear armament of Canadian forces anywhere and to seek a drastic scaling down of military expenditures. And it urged support for the new labor party which once in office could lay down firm foundations "for a new society of peace and plenty".

On the other hand the Toronto Association for Peace leaflet was in the form of an appeal, a letter, to the prime minister. It expressed pride, hope and approval of a series of cheap and demagogic stands by government spokesmen in the UN, noteworthy only in that they are so exceptional as to prove the rule that the Diefenbaker government is completely subservient to US Pentagon policy. Only in the last paragraph does the association express disappointment, and query why "Canada's position has been weakened as a spokesman for peace" by "backward steps". It ends by urging Diefenbaker "to take a consistent stand for disarmament."

In the January 25th issue the editor of the Canadian Tribune entered into the debate. His contribution was a lengthy attack on the Socialist Educational League and the Workers Vanguard titled: Radical Sounding Trotskyites Sow Doubts, Confusion, Aid Monopolists.

A grab bag of assorted matters are tossed in, to work on old prejudices, to sidetrack and to block any serious coming to grips with the real questions. On the one hand there is the fabrication that the "Trotskyites are above all open proclaimed opponents of peaceful coexistence . . . asserting in effect that there is no alternative to world war." Then there is the old Stalinist lie that Leon Trotsky and his adherents in the CPSU opposed the development of Soviet economy and "advocated revolutionary war by the Soviet Republic against the capitalist world."

Added to this is the falsehood that "the sole distinctive feature" of Trotskyist politics is "anti-Sovietism" which like traitors they are alleged to put "before the interests of Canada and of mankind." And to top it off, is the fantasy that while the SEL and the Vanguard "are loud in the condemnation of missile bases in Canada and of anti-labor legislation" this is only a subterfuge, just "seemingly leftist phrases" to cover a program that is completely different from their real one — known through some special dispensation or perhaps clairvoyance, only to the editors of Tribune.

Of course the SEL and the VANGUARD are not at all anti-Soviet. For this slander the TRIBUNE did nothing but reach into the bag of tricks of the trade union bureaucracy who always attempt to smear their rank and file opponents as being anti-union. The SEL is opposed to the Khrushchov regime. Its position flows from unconditional support of the planned economy of the Soviet Union, enthusiastic partisanship of its colossal achievements, and opposition to any and all forces that impede its free development and compromise its defence against the threats of world imperialism.

The Vanguard does not assert either "in effect" or in any other way, that there is no alternative to the third world war. We are far from despairing of the future of mankind.

There is an alternative to the third world war and the atomic destruction of mankind! That alternative is militant struggle around a program that mobilizes the masses against each and every action that leads in the direction of the war, against the forces that are projecting society in this direction, and depriving them of their power to continue to do so.

That is the nub of the problem. No amount of red baiting by the war mongers and cold warriors should be allowed to cover it. And the same holds true for the Communist Party's special brand red baiting—Trotsky baiting.

Today we have what can be called peaceful coexistence between the two major forces in the world—China, the USSR and its satellites, and the United States, the Western bloc of imperialist states, and their satellites. With due allowance for the work of various peace movements in the West, their efforts have not been the effective force in the establishment of the present stalemate.

Soviet progress in the field of nuclear bombs, its missile superiority, the weakening of imperialism before the rising tide of the colonial struggle — the development of the revolution — has temporarily paralyzed the imperialists who are

working furiously to change the balance. The present stalemate gives time to the anti-war forces to mobilize their strength, tip the balance against the imperialists and in the direction of their overthrow. How to make use of this time—that is the problem.

The pivotal idea, the motif that runs through all the writings of the Communist Party on this question is expressed in the opening sentence of the January 25 editorial statement. "The Canadian capitalist class is obviously divided within itself" and it is this division that makes it possible for labor to "play the decisive role in tipping the balance to the side of policies based on a perspective of peace."

Any disunity or weakening in the ranks of the capitalist class would of course make it easier for the working class to intervene and lay the basis for the implementation of its distinctive program. But that is not how the CP sees things. The strategy as outlined

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by Nelson Clarke in the September 14 Tribune is to "force new policies upon the Tory government in Ottawa." The strategy of the CP is to work entirely within the framework of capitalist politics—it is pressure, reformist, politics.

Does war flow from capitalism? Is it capitalism's way of resolving its crisis—opening up new areas for the export of surplus capital, cheap labor and sources of raw material? Is the struggle against war a struggle against capitalism and capitalist governments?

If this were once so, it is no longer so, according to Tim Buck, who sees new possibilities, in "that so many intelligent representatives of the capitalist class are seeking another way" than war. The other way, cries Buck, is peaceful coexistence, which it is apparent in his mouth is just another word for class collaboration.

Instead of a class analysis, the Tribune and the CP veer from chasdisements to ecstatic praises of Tory government policies. On November 30 the Tribune hailed the Canadian government's vote against De Gaulle's A bomb test over the Sahara as dealing a "crushing blow" against the war makers. It praised Diefenbaker's admission that complete protection from nuclear attack could not be provided, as an "indication of shifting Canadian government policy." Then, as the government's headlong drive towards nuclear armaments is periodically revealed, the

From praise to anger, it turns to chide Diefenbaker as Buck does in his pamphlet Disarmament Means Peace. Of the Tory Prime Minister of imperialist Great Britain and the Republican President of the powerhouse of world reaction, Buck writes: "Harold Macmillan of Britain and Dwight Eisenhower of the US are both speaking out for action to end the cold war while Diefenbaker of Canada refuses to dissociate himself from the advocates of cold war." Buck's proposals at the close of this pamphlet are completely within the framework of reform, of pressure on the Diefenbaker government. Send a telegram to the government or your local MP, he urges, a small deputation to visit "your member of parliament at his home and impress upon him the necessity of the Tory government taking action with Macmillan and Eisenhower."

It is no accident that the CANADIAN TRIBUNE, for all its coverage of developments in China, has carefully suppressed the many scathing attacks by leading Chinese government officials against the US preparations for war. The Canadian Communist Party has been attempting, ever since the summit conference was agreed upon, to cast Eisenhower and Macmillan in the role of men of peace. A recent Canadian Peace Congress newsletter praised Eisenhower while on tour of India as defining "clearly and forcefully the task of every peace worker in the World." This is the same tour that Peking PEOPLES DAILY headlined as a visit "to sell sham 'peace' goods."

A Peking Daily editorial characterized the recent peace gestures of Eisenhower as "an attempt to deceive the American people, paralyze the fighting will of the people of the world against imperialism and conceal its moves for a stepped-up arms drive in preparation for war."

The Canadian Tribune and the Communist Party are party to this deception. Their policy of gilding the Eisenhowers and Macmillans, of critically supporting the Diefenbakers, cuts across the possibilities of developing the anti-war aspirations of the Canadian people in a correct way—in an anti-capitalist direction.

The task as the SEL and the Vanguard see it is to identify oneself with every anti-war expression of the Canadian people, give it direction, deepen it against capitalism and its political stooges. The CP not only fails to do this but intervenes in the struggle to prevent this development.

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The Truth Hidden Behind Mask That Moral Rearmament Wears

by P. Kent / Mid-Mar '60

What is this elaborately printed pamphlet IDEOLOGY and CO-EXISTENCE all about? According to a full page ad that appeared in all the major dailies over the name of Moral Rearmament, every home in Canada has received a copy.

Is Moral Rearmament a church, a political party, an organization? Is it a religious doctrine, a political tendency, a philosophical creed? Anyone used to such categories of definition will get no answer from the pamphlet. But the man whom the pamphlet lauds as the "initiator" of Moral Rearmament—Frank Buchman—has defined it simply as an "organism."

A strange organism indeed! With no members, "no signing on," taking pledges, being sworn in or enrolled, it has headquarters in 12 countries. It has a thousand full-time workers. It maintains a college which trains several hundred youth continuously at the cost of $3,500 a year a piece. It has task forces which it can deploy at will and in the case of a union-employer dispute in Miami in 1951, numbered 170 strong.

It has a dramatic group of some 300 that puts on admission-free plays in expensive auditoriums across the country. It owns a threater of its own in London which cost £132,500. It makes movies such as the color film **Freedom** which was distributed through international network of J. Arthur Rank. The film **Crowning Experience** cost $250,000. Its annual American budget is an estimated one million dollars.

Take its permanent North American center at Mackinac Island in Lake Michigan. According to a **Globe and Mail** reporter who saw it in 1957, it is a multi-million dollar establishment. Its five buildings, one of them a three-block-long Georgian type residence hall, contain a million cubic feet of space and will accommodate 1,000 people.

The establishment at Caux, Switzerland, composed of three extensive and elaborately fitted out buildings contains over a thousand beds and costs something in the neighborhood of $4,000 a day to run. Lavish hotels, with a sweeping panorama of the Swiss Alps and beautiful Lake Geneva, they were frequented before World War II by the wealthy international set.

These lush properties stretching across the globe, its swanky offices in London's Mayfair and on New York's Fifth Avenue, are owned by, and its considerable human forces and varied expensive devices of propaganda are controlled by 15 men — the Oxford Group—an all-powerful, self-perpetuating, exclusive clique any three of whom can form a quorum.

The man called "the initiator", and who presides at all major Moral Rearmament assembles is the 82 year old American born Frank Buchman. An ordained Lutheran minister, Buchman moved into YWCA work, travelled throughout the world to turn up in Oxford, where in 1928 he organized the Oxford Group. At that time it defined itself as a group for the advancement of the Christian religion. With the launching of MRA in America a decade later, the movement took on a political character, beating the drums of "patriotism" and "national unity" during the war years, to striking the pose of today—an "ideology superior to Communism or any other ism"

While talk about Christianity has been steadily diminishing in their propaganda, MRA supporters claim to have the ultimate authority in support of their actions. They claim to be "God guided".

The well-known English author Beverley Nichols wrote during the war years of the Buchman who he once admired and who made considerable efforts to patronize him. "He was above all things a snob. He was one of the vulgarist snobs who ever walked this earth. When he talked about a man with a title

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he smacked his lips. When he talked about God he smacked his lips even louder, as though God were the top name in Debrett. Indeed it always seemed to me that his God was really a deification of an American succeess story. He was the Big Boss."

Buchmanites are always well dressed, often have the latest model cars at their disposal, homes in posh districts, and stay at first class hotels — although they receive no salaries from group funds. According to Nichols, when asked how he stayed at first class hotels, Buchman replied: "Isn't God a millionaire?"

The non-spiritual high style of living that MRA staffers indulge in provoked someone to rhapsodize:

There was a young man from
Peoria
Whose sinning grew gorier and
gorier
By confession and prayer
And some savoir faire
He now lives at the Waldorf-
Astoria.

Where does MRA, this 15 man oligarchy with its far flung and vast resources get the treasury from which it draws so extravagantly? Who supports MRA, and why?

Many persons and organizations have seen something useful in MRA. On the very eve of the Second World War, Dr. Buchman felt "guided" to answer Mae West's invitation to come up and see her some time. The famous burlesque queen, recently author of a biography titled **Goodness Had Nothing To Do With It**, received him in pink negligee. Mae congratulated the doctor—"You are doing wonderful work." Buchman replied—"You are a splendid character," to which Miss West rejoined—"I owe my success to the fact that I have been practising your philosophy in recent years."

When Buchman and his entourage made a coast to coast tour of Canada in 1932-3, the then Tory Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, known as "Iron Heel" Bennett to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed, praised their work as having made the task of government easier.

When he returned to America in 1939, where he stayed until 1946, Buchman was given a reception in his honor by the lieutenant governor of Ontario himself. To a mass meeting in New York's Madison Square Gardens, sponsored by Mayor LaGuardia, Governor Lehman, Al Smith and Mrs. Roosevelt, he took greetings from the mayors of 85 Canadian cities and towns.

The Second Moral Rearmament Assembly held in Hollywood Bowl in July 1959, received greetings from Canada's minister of national defence and the British Home secretary. Among the 400 Canadian delegates was Brigadier General W. G. Beeman of Kingston who termed MRA "a new form of preparedness available either for peace or for war." He urged former soldiers to become "new shock troops in the battle for their countries' lives." Colonel Mark Vernon, RCMP, retired, saw MRA as something that could change "revolutionary agitators" into "a constructive force."

In attendance with important business men such as the president of the Vancouver Stock Exchange, was the vice-president of a Montreal building supply firm, Andrew Webster. Here is how he saw MRA at work; "It will bring about four things; Stimulation of business through a return of confidence. Reduction of taxes and a flow of new money into business and enterprises generally. Elimination of price wars and the replacement of competition with co-operation. Simplifying of the complex of Canadian business life."

These eulogies from government officials preparing to dragoon the people into war, police officials getting ready to break strikes and enforce the fascist-like Canada Defence Regulations, bosses anticipating cost-plus government contracts were well earned by MRA. For it had turned from personal evangelism to the themes of "patriotism," "national unity" and "defence". This praise was all the more appreciated by Buchman for he had been known as an admirer of Hitler.

Arriving in New York on August 26, 1936, he told reporters "I thank Heaven for a man like Hitler who built a front line of defence against the anti-Christ of Communism." According to British MP Tom Driberg, Buchman used to say to English visitors to Germany — "you ought to know Heinrich. He is a great lad." That was in 1936 when for three years Heinrich Himmler's Gestapo had been herding thousands of trade unionists and Jews into concentration camps.

MRA suffered only two small reverses through its becoming an abject tool of the State Department's war mobilization program. Their earlier religious associates broke from them. The good life that his 130 man task force was living in America provoked various Britishers who thought they should be home doing their bit. A statement urging their exemption on the grounds that MRA was playing an essential role in "stimulating personal patriotism, industrial cooperation and national unity so vital to our defence program" signed by, among others, Congressman Harry S. Truman, was to no avail.

Also in attendance at the California Assembly was one A. R. Mosher, president of the All Canadian Congress of Labor.

(The first of two articles)

BESS MACDONALD

Bessie MacDonald died last week in Toronto. She was almost unknown to the present generation of socialists but she played an important role in the development of the movement in this country in its most crucial years. Bess was the wife of Jack MacDonald and from 1915 until his untimely death in 1941, stood by him, participated with him, encouraged him and counselled him in all his work.

This was most important work, for Jack MacDonald in 1921 became the first national secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, a post he held until 1928, and was by all counts its best known and most active figure. Mac fought the Stalinization of the CP until he was expelled in 1931. During those trying days, in association with Maurice Spector who had been the theoretical leader of the CP until his expulsion for Trotskyism in 1928, and with the support of Bess, Jack started all over again to build the revolutionary socialist party.

Bess was an avid reader of the **Vanguard** which Spector and MacDonald launched back in 1932. She liked to be kept up to date with all developments but was prevented from active participation in the movement through necessity to work for a living right up until the night she died in her sleep at the age of 71.

KV p.1

Talk But No Action 'Gainst NFLD Union-Busting Laws

M.d- Mar 60

THE EDITORS

The final moments of the one year within which the Diefenbaker government could have quashed the two bills with which the Smallwood government of Newfoundland smashed the woodworkers union, ticked out on March 16. When the Newfoundland Liberals jammed through this legislation that permits the government to revoke any certification, to outlaw any union and the right to strike, when Smallwood whipped up lynch mobs and the RCMP committed their atrocity at Badger, the prime minister condemned the Smallwood government and justified the actions that the woodworkers took in self defence. As recent as January 25th Justice Minister Fulton declared in the press his personal opposition to the laws. But the time for disallowance has slipped by and the Tories have left the Liberal union-busting laws on the books. Last minute attempts by the CCF to discuss disallowance were ruled out of order by the speaker.

The strategy of the Canadian Labor Congress leadership during this time was to raise $500,000 a month to aid the woodworkers and to appeal to the Diefenbaker government to intervene on labor's behalf. They clamped down on and villified those who advocated a more militant line of action. The strike was smashed. The Nazi-like legislation remains in effect—militant unionism is outlaw in Newfoundland.

The BC legislature has just come to a close with the Social Credit government standing firm behind the infamous Bill 43 with which it has outlawed secondary boycotts, sympathy strikes and various forms of information and organization picketing, and under which unions, now legal and sueable entities, can be held responsible for the actions of any individual member.

The strategy of the union leadership has been to attempt to work through the chinks in the law, to adapt and adjust to the union busting legislation. When over 24 union locals urged "direct action" to bar introduction of the bill, the Federation warned unionists to submit to the law.

In the closing moments of this session CCF leader Strachan

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NFLD and BC Anti-Labor Laws

(Continued from page 1)

testified that the Ironworkers Union, obeying the law to the last comma, has had members hauled into court, has been harassed and bedevilled until its treasury is down to $13.

Now the Ontario union movement is assessing the meaning of the Frost government's proposed changes to the Ontario Labor Relations Act. The legislation renders the union and the closed shop ineffective, since it decrees an employee cannot be fired even if expelled with good cause from his union. It declares sympathy strikes illegal, and gives the green light to employers for wholesale coercion and intimidation during a certification campaign by guaranteeing them "freedom of speech".

The leadership of the Ontario union movement did nothing, as the Tories were preparing this peppery dish, other than launch a paper barrage of postcards in the direction of the MP's. Now some of them, crawling, and craven to the core, since the Tories did not cut so deep and so wide as they had feared, are attempting to present this slashing blow as a victory of sorts.

Now, with the union busting decrees going into the books, Steel publicity director Murray Cotterill, (the same who slandered the Socialist Educational League which urged a 24 hour solidarity strike behind the Newfoundlaind woodworkers, as "two bit radicals"), challenges the Toronto Labor Council. "We have been licked and it's time to fight back," he declares. And reproaches the delegates for having hardly spent a thing or given any time to the fight against the employers' anti labor drive.

We think that there are some meaningful lessons in these events. To be sure one of them is that labor must elect into office a government of its own. But there are no elections slated for Ottawa and the Ontario house for several years.

But there are other lessons, and to outline a few:

Labor cannot live with or adapt itself to the anti-labor legislation that is being whipped up across the country. Each delay and postponement of the struggle makes the bosses and their political stooges more aggressive and determined in their course and aim to destroy the organized labor movement. There is no substitute for the mobilization of the mighty forces of the unions. The union ranks have demonstrated their willingness and capacity to halt the union busting drive in its tracks. The present leadership of the labor movement is unwilling and incapable of giving the leadership that is needed and a new one must be built as quickly as possible.

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Mid-Mar '60

Something To Shout About

We are looking forward to carrying in our next issue a report of the London, Liverpool and possibly the Glasgow Assemblies of Labor. These assemblies are the extension of the highly successful National Assembly of Labor, reported in our December issue, organized by the British Socialist Labor League.

The National Assembly was powerful testimony to the existence and the broadening of an important strata of union militants, co-op members, labor party activists, rank and file CPers who want to do battle against British capitalism. It was an addition to the accumulating evidence that in the Socialist Labor League of Great Britain we have an expanding movement of socialist workers and intellectuals who, armed with the program of revolutionary socialism, will prove capable of solving the crisis that has plagued British labor for some decades. In the SLL we have the creation of a Marxist working class leadership which is making great strides in fusing the militants in the mighty British trade union movement, with the left in the massive expression of their political independence—the Labor Party.

Success in these efforts is of great importance not only to the Canadian working class, large sections of which look for inspiration and guidance to Britain, but to the world socialist movement. It would decisively shift the balance in the international struggle between dying capitalism and nascent socialism, for next to America, Great Britain is the most powerful link in the chain of remaining strongholds of capitalism.

We Canadian revolutionary socialists have a particular concern and find great inspiration in the work of the SLL. On a different plane, but against a background that has many similarities, we are attempting to realize the same aim. In Canada, the labor party is in a formative stage, with the SEL attempting to mobilize forces to fight the efforts of the trade union and CCF brass to deprive it of its socialist birthright. As the British Labor Party and trade union brass make their peace with the Tories, the SLL is struggling to rearm the workers with a fighting socialist program.

As testimony to its achievement, the SLL has been confronted over the past year with a particularly virulent and vicious assault from all sides. Symmetrical to the capitalist press and professional red baiters' attacks, remarkable for their maliciousness, have been those perpetrated by the labor brass. They have proscribed the **Newsletter** and made membership in the League grounds for expulsion from the party. Centrists and sectarians such as the Independent Labor Party, and regrettably it is necessary to add, the supporters of **Socialist Fight**, seeking factional advantage, have joined in the witch hunt and blame the victims for it.

It is elementary that all socialists close ranks against the enemies who have set up a united front against the specter of Trotskyism. As for us—we are with the Socialist Labor League all the way and will help them in any way we are able.

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Why Doesn't Dief Speak Up Against Apartheid Murder

THE EDITORS

Few events in recent years have roused the conscience of the Canadian people so much as the cold-blooded racist police massacres of South African men, women, and children; the brutal campaign of terror used to break their strike and to compel them to work as slave labor; the enforcement of emergency regulations that have turned South Africa into a police state and resulted in the terrorization and imprisonment of both black and white opponents of the Verwoerd government.

The union movement, church organizations, student associations, educational institutions, social and cultural groups, have voiced their protests.

There has been one institution, one that supposedly represents all the Canadian people, that has remained silent. That is the house of commons in Ottawa—in reality the Tory government headed by John Diefenbaker. The house may, upon reconvening after the Easter recess, almost a month after the Sharpesville massacre and a month of brutal suppressions, take the matter up.

In the meantime the prime minister has met student delegations and CCF probings, the pressure of the country generally, with appeals to "go slow" to show "a sense of responsibility" which demands that we Canadians "should not act in such a way as to exacerbate the prevailing situation."

And in the meantime Canadian Sabre jets, sold to the apartheid Styrdom government in 1956, are used to threaten and intimidate demonstrating Africans. On schedule, April 7, the Canadian exhibit opened at the Johannesburg trade fair. The foreign trade service at Ottawa issued a statement expressing anxiety that business men should realize that there would be no interruption in trade relations between Canada and South Africa.

The arrest and imprisonment of the foreign news editor of Canada's largest daily didn't even cause the prime minister to utter a single comment—a spokesman for the department of external affairs let it be known that the Canadian high commissioner in South Africa lodged a formal protest with the authorities. One event did rouse an automatic and effusive response from Diefenbaker—the wounding of the fascist minded prime minister Verwoerd. The prime minister expressed extreme anguish and sympathy for Dr. Verwoerd whose fall before the bullets fired by a wealthy white was headlined in the European press; Hitler Shot, Tyrant Falls, Topples Tyrant. CCF leader M. J. Coldwell, instead of expressing sympathy, if not solidarity, with the man who mistakenly thought that he could solve a great social problem through an individual act of personal heroism, or at least having the tact to remain silent—joined Diefenbaker in these expressions.

What should be said in the name of the Canadian people? What should a sense of responsibility demand that the Canadian people do?

The US State Department has spoken up; so, too, has the British government and the United Nations. But their words as much

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US, Br and UN Make the Record

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as Diefenbaker's silence reveal them to be Broederbonders of the apartheid South African government. As embarrassed as the US is by its own apartheid policies in the southern states, it could not afford to appear guilty in the eyes of the Asian and African nations by association with South Africa. The US statement "deplores violence in all its forms," thus lumping together the struggle of the slave for liberation from oppression with the brutality of his oppressor, and expressed pious "hopes that the people (?) of South Africa will be able to obtain (from the police state) redress for legitimate grievances by peaceful means."

If it is thought impossible to utter a more hypocritical statement than the US's, which fails to even make the record against the white supremacy racial policies of the South African government, both the British government and the UN achieved the impossible. The Macmillan government expressed with grand imparitiality "deep sympathy with all the people of South Africa at the recent tragic events," but mentioned no redress of grievances. The British Tories summed up their position, recognizing the power of the African independence movement and the need of capitalism in Africa to develop a stable and skilled working class, with the phrase "apartheid is unworkable." Selwyn Lloyd questioned the propriety of the US comment about redress of legitimate grievances with the comment that "countries must work out their own salvation" but the how, when 12 million Africans are denied elementary democratic rights, he did not spell out.

The UN position is so mealy-mouthed, so empty, that both Britain and France allowed it to go on the record by not voting for it but by abstaining. The Soviet government contented itself with going along with the statement that asks the UN secretary general to consult the South African government (sic) with a view to curbing racial violence. The statement won the acclaim of the editors of the Tory GLOBE AND MAIL as "cautious in the extreme" and an action such as to prevent a situation where "the other peoples of Africa, especially those in countries newly independent, or approaching independence, will side with their fellow Negroes . . .

Behind the Canadian government's silence lies grave fear over the future of the Commonwealth—that the coming conference of Commonwealth ministers will blow apart with the refusal of the present representatives of the Asian-African peoples to be seated with the representative of apartheid South Africa. Canada has played an important role in the perfecting of this imperialist device that has proven so flexible in preserving the basic economic interests of imperialism while making political concessions before the rising revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the old British Empire.

But for Liberal Minister of External Affairs Pearson's involvment of United Nations forces when British and French attempts to seize the Suez roused world-wide opposition, the representatives of the colored peoples would have most certainly pulled out of the Commonwealth then.

BOYCOTT S. AFRICAN GOODS!

Mid-Apr 60

But while the political representatives of Canadian capital have a responsibility to the preservation of the unity of that imperialist front called the Commonwealth, the Canadian people have none. Their responsibility is to the Negro people of Africa.

We can do much more than express our sympathy for the fallen martyrs of the African revolution and our admiration for their struggle against the pass system, against apartheid and for a United States of Africa free of colonialism—a continent economically and socially organized to benefit the masses of black workers and peasants.

The South African people, the revolution that is sweeping Africa needs our solidarity and support! Last year Pan-African leaders in many countries threw their weight behind the organization of a boycott of South African goods. The boycott has been endorsed by labor organizations throughout most of the world. Such a boycott is in operation in Britain. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has called for a two month boycott starting May 1st.

Help organize and enforce a Canada wide boycott, not only against individual items but against stores that merchandize South African goods. The executive committee of the South Wales miners has carried a resolution calling on all dockers and seamen, to whatever union they may belong, to refuse to handle goods destined for South Africa."

Encourage, press the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Trade Unions to launch a seamen and dockworkers strike against goods both going and coming from South Africa.

Earlier this month Health Minister Monteith revealed that the explosion of the first French atomic bomb in the Sahara has produced a sharp increase in radioactive fallout in Canada. The African revolution is a great blow against those who prepare for nuclear war. A victory of the colored people of South Africa, the smashing of British imperialism in Kenya and the overthrow of French imperialism in Algeria would make sure that there would be no nuclear weapons tested on the African continent.

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THE TRUTH BEHIND THE MASK MORAL REARMAMENT WEARS

The last of two articles on Moral Rearmament

By P. KENT Mid Apr '60

The world-wide mail blitzkreig with the pamphlet IDEOLOGY AND COEXISTENCE is something new for the movement which calls itself Moral Rearmament. MRA's Information Service claims the distribution of this pamphlet, which in Europe and Asia alone cost almost 3 million dollars, is the most massive simultaneous distribution of a single book ever undertaken. Its mail distribution to some 4,340,000 Canadian homes recalls to mind only one precedent, the massive circulation in 1945 of the vicious anti-semitic, anti-CCF, red baiting pamphlet Stand Up And Be Counted.

Heretofore MRA's propaganda and publicity activities have been of a more refined, more limited and selective character. To be sure as it transformed itself from Oxford Group evangelical house parties into a World War II military preparedness movement, with a few religious overtones, thence into its present image of a crusade with "an ideology superior to Communism or any other ism," it has taken on more and more of the techniques of the Madison Avenue boys. The general policy adhered to by the all-powerful, self perpetuating 15 man clique who operate MRA's vast resources has been to influence important people, strategically placed people, to work the higher limits, outline the strategy—and not, as today, address the masses directly.

MRA initiator Frank Buchman once confided to the shocked internationally known author Beverley Nichols that the efforts of one of the extravaganzas at Caux were directed almost entirely to winning him to the cause. One truth amongst the many lies in IDEOLOGY AND COEXISTENCE is the statement that Buchman enjoys "personal friendship with four generations of Japanese leadership"—four generation of financial tycoons and imperialist war-lords. One of the few persons with whom Adenauer, the aging chancellor of the West German government that is

"personal friendship with four generations of Japanese leadership"—four generation of financial tycoons and imperialist war-lords. One of the few persons with whom Adenauer, the aging chancellor of the West German government that is so riddled with fascists, visited when here last month was Frank Buchman. He has been decorated by Chiang and received royally by "that man of destiny" as Buchman called the corrupt imperialist stooge Diem, president of Vietnam.

MRA's task forces of over 1,000 full time workers concentrate their efforts to win converts among leaders in university and student youth circles, in the trade union movement, and key native leaders of popular movements in the colonial world—particularly Africa. It is they who, in many cases at no cost to themselves, are feted at the multi-million dollar Mackinac resort in Lake Michigan, along with business men, police officials, military personages and personnel heads.

MRA has long had the warm approval of management circles. The Personnel Assistants of Toronto packed Massey Hall with 1,000 representatives of management on April 5, 1952 to hear of the benefits their employers could gain through MRA. The owner of the viciously anti-union Windsor Star, Hugh Graybiel, while attending an assembly at Caux, promised "my influence will be used to the utmost to open these same news columns throughout the press of Canada." The Canadians who attended the MRA conference at the swank Shoreham Hotel in Washington in January 1951 were almost all personnel heads—among them CGE's Shell Oil's, TCA's, the managing director of W. J. Gage, and the longtime active MRA supporter John Dibblee, manager of personnel for the Ontario Hydro.

And it hasn't been all talk with MRA. A 170 man task force was "God guided" as they claim, along with some urging by the president of the Better Business division of the Miami Chamber of Commerce, into the 1951 dispute between National Airlines and its Miami employees in the Airline Pilots' Association.

In a two month period MRA claims that some 25,861 saw its indoctrination plays and 4,000 persons attended what it calls training sessions. Whatever else came out of these developments by far the most tangible was a report that company profits soared from half a million in 1950 to two and a half million dollars in 1951.

So blatant has been MRA's intervention in union affairs that in April 23, 1950 arch-conservative Arthur Deakin, then secretary of the British Transport and General Workers Union, when all the members of the London port committee had been visited by well-heeled and well-dressed MRA ambassadors, stated that "all our members have been warned to keep clear of this organization. It has no part in labor management relations. The Re-

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armers offer all sorts of inducements to the men such as free trips to Caux and to America." A lead editorial in the **Canadian Railway Employees Monthly**, official organ of the CBRE-CLC (July 1950) attacked MRA for its support of the Schuman Plan which it characterized as a device to block the efforts of the people of Europe to nationalize the key industries that manufacture implements of war. The editor pointed out that "since they (MRA) are for moral rearmament they are for physical rearmament as well."

The International Confederation of Free Trades Unions issued a statement on September 15, 1953, which not only scored MRA for interfering in trade union activities but found it guilty of "anti-trade union efforts, even to the extent of trying to found yellow unions." Earlier that spring, in a letter to the press, Trades and Labor Congress head, Percy Bengough, scored MRA as "a danger to organized labor."

Despite the obvious anti-labor record of MRA, Bengough felt it necessary to warn that certain labor leaders are "more than flirting with them." Bengough wasn't attacking TonyAnastasio, the brother of Albert Anastasio, executioner for Murder Incorporated, and head of the racket-ridden International Longshoremen's Union whose Brooklyn members were shown the MRA film Light of Tomorrow. Nor the now-deceased CIO executive vice-president John Riffe, who testified to a 1954 MRA Assembly that it had turned him from "a whisky-drinking, poker-playing, girl-chasing man." Whatever else MRA did for Riffe, IDEOLOGY AND CO-EXISTENCE shows that it made him a useful tool of industrialists. It baldly quotes what it alleges to be Riffe's death bed statement: "Tell America that when Frank Buchman changed John Riffe he saved American industry 500 million dollars."

Bengough's attack against certain labor leaders provoked no less a person than railway union leader Frank Hall to protest at the 1953 TLC convention. Hall was not the only one to feel it in the neck. As we reported in our previous article, in attendance at the July, 1939 California assembly was A. R. Mosher, president of the All Canadian Congress of Labor. As his recent obituaries testified, Mosher subsequently became head of the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) and was one of the founders of the CCF. Elroy Robson, vice-president of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Union, is known as a friend of MRA. Russell Harvey, then Canadian director of organization for the AFL, and A. F. MacArthur, then president of the Ontario Federation of Labor and Canadian head of the Teamsters Union, were both at the MRA Mackinac conference of 1951, which the press reported the then little known Tory back-bench MP, John Diefenbaker, was expected to attend.

That top trade union leaders and even CCFers should be taken in by MRA mumbo jumbo of "absolute honesty", "purity", "unselfishness" and "absolute love" is not so surprising as it might at first seem. Rejecting as they do the whole concept that the struggle between labor and capital is irreconcilable and can only be resolved by the victory of labor over capital, they fall easy prey to a movement that presents the crises of our times as primarily moral and ethical, flowing from the rapaciousness of certain employers and of course the class consciousness it arouses in the workers; as due to man"s essential weakness and not at all to the capitalist system.

Isn't this after all what the right wing is attempting to write into the new labor party program—that the aim of the party is not a planned economy and production for use but the establishment of "human dignity" and "values based on human worth"?

Hasn't the CCF leadership lo presented itself as the most co petent adviser to the West (ca talism) in its struggle again "amoral communism," attempti to bring "reason" into the Weste alliance? For MRA, too, the enem is Communism with of course demarcation between Stalinis "true revolutionaries" as Trotsk or nationalization—and its exte sion in Britain which it claims have stopped.

According to an article in t **New York Times** of September 1 1948 the aim of MRA is "to esta lish some basis of unity among no Communist Parties" . . . it is se ting out to capture Socialist parti in Europe from Marxism. Aims n unlike those expressed in top CC and trade union circles.

That MRA may have some con

pletely sincere religious perso supporting it and yet has becom a shameless prop of capitalist an imperialist reaction is not at a another proof of the failure of me to rise to a higher ethical plan It is proof that all talk about supra-class morality inevitably b comes a screen to cover capitali exploitation and imperialist aim —that morality too is a class q tion.

What ideology does Moral R

supra-class morality inevitably becomes a screen to cover capitalist exploitation and imperialist aims —that morality too is a class question.

What ideology does Moral Rearmament offer today? What is this ideology that it claims is the only answer to all other isms—including Communism? Even the most superficial examination of the pamphlet IDEOLOGY AND CO-EXISTENCE reveals it to be nothing more than McCarthyism. "World War III has begun," the pamphlet opens up. "We are in the 42nd year of the cold war," according to longtime MRA leader Bernard M. Hallward, president of St. Raymond Paper Ltd. of Montreal. The war that MRA is fighting is the social revolution that flared up in 1917 with the Russian Revolution. MRA opposes co-existence as a WAR NOW movement.

MRA's program is anti-Communism; for MRA communism is everywhere. It supposedly controls the press of America; determined Wall Street's policy in China. It's behind the forces of influence that are hostile to Adenauer. It has infiltrated the churches and the universities. "It is extremely foolish," MRA warns, "to believe that a man who follows the party line is not a communist." What is the party line, according to MRA? Recognition of China! Chinese admission to the UN! Trade with China! Favoring cultural exchanges, visits to the USSR. Being for curtailment of what is called civil defence, etc.

According to George Rennie of the **Ontario CCF News** and Keith Wright of the **Saskatchewan Commonwealth**, MRA is fascist. Wright states that the pamphlet "smacks of fascism throughout." Rennie comments that MRA "at any moment may prove to be the rallying point" for fascists. No matter the falsity of many of its claims, MRA is a dangerous movement. It has powerful backing. It has been attempting to organize from the top what could be the leadership of a fascist movement of tomorrow. It is now seeking for whatever can be turned up with its broadcast of Ideology and Coexistence.

WV #54

Sask Medical Hierarchy Campaigns to Defeat CCF

Mod-May 60

By P. KENT

The medical hierarchy of Saskatchewan is waging a vicious campaign which they hope will defeat the Saskatchewan CCF government, up for election June 8, and thus block its attempts to introduce a medical care program into the province.

The top brass of the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons have planked a levy on their 930 members of $100 each to finance a "public relations committee" to mastermind their campaign. Offices have been set up in both Regina and Saskatoon. Each doctor has been instructed to make no public statements on the CCF plan without first consulting the committee.

While there has been no doctor in the provincial legislature for the past 16 years, at least four intend to contest ridings in the coming elections—three of them as Tories, the other as a Liberal candidate. In other ridings the college's campaign, which is backed up by every conservative force in the province, will be directed against the CCF candidate to aid all or any one of the Liberal, Tory or Social Credit candidates.

The vested interests which dominate the North America-wide medical profession are solidly behind this drive to abort the first attempt on the continent to introduce a compulsory, prepaid medical care plan. The college has obtained the services of a professional medical public relations officer and has asked the Canadian Medical Association to provide it with an economist, according to Bay Street's FINANCIAL POST. A leading Toronto daily reports that the Saskatchewan College and the CMA are getting help from the infamous American Medical Association.

Is it an accident or is it a conscious act to strengthen the Saspatchewan campaign, that the doctors belonging to the Sault Ste. Marie Medical Association have declared their intention to sabotage a medical care plan? This month they informed Local 2251 Steelworkers that they will not service a clinic that the union is setting up to provide some 20,000 persons with medical care.

Last month the union-sponsored health insurance plan in the Kirkland Lake district—in operation 18 years now—received an ultimatum from the town's 18 doctors that they are walking out on it. Both actions are in line with the declaration made by the Ontario Medical Association brass early this

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MEDICAL HIERARCHY HARASSES SASK CCF

(Continued from page 1)

year that they would strike against any government health plan.

To justify their callous determination to maintain their power to charge whatever the market will bear, thus depriving thousands of necessary medical care and continuing the blackout of preventitive medicine, college spokesmen have raised the scare of government control, and "interference" with "normal" relations between doctor and patient. They picture this attempt to provide medical care on the basis of need and not wealth, as some thin edge of a wedge that will open the door to the government entering "private lives of the citizens in other ways as well."

The college's strategists are well advised in their attempt to gag doctors from making any statements on the plan other than through their offices. There are no doubt many doctors who are solidly behind the government's proposal. The "pilot" medical care project in the Swift Current area, opposed by the college when it was set up in 1946, has seen the number of doctors in the area rise from 19 to 41.

"The public care of health through a comprehensive medical plan is a proper activity of the government," says Dr. A. Robertson, head of the Department of Social and Preventitive Medicine, University of Saskatchewan. His comment that one of the results of private medicine is that certain persons must suffer for "the indignity of having to seek care as a beggar would," and that under private medicine, care "varies directly with income," provoked one of the college's chief propagandists, Dr. Baltzan, to declare that it was "a distortion of the truth, an outrage and a discredit to doctors."

TO COME EVERYWHERE

Some 150 doctors heard the guest speaker to a three day course, which the College of Physicians and Surgeons was a co-sponsor of, vigorously support government plans for medical care. Dr. Alton Goldbloom, generally known to Canadian doctors as the "father of pediatrics" praised the socialized medicine of England and Sweden. "It will have to come everywhere," fighting government plans is "a losing game," he told the Saskatchewan doctors.

It was last February that Premier Douglas announced that medical care legislation would be introduced that session. The proposed plan was to be a modest one. At a premium of about $17.50 per adult a year, or a maximum of $35-$40 per family, and with additional funds from tax revenues, it was proposed to provide medical care for everyone in the province. Needless to say, as Minister of Health Erb assured, there was going to be no "regimentation of doctors or interference with their relations with patients." The details were to be worked out by an advisory board proceeding along the line of five laid down principles and composed of three persons named by the medical profession, three government officials and three representatives of the general public, with one appointee from the College of Medicine at the University of Saskatchewan.

DOUGLAS RETREATS

The medical hierarchy's campaign has succeeded so far, in that it has blocked the whole project. Instead of using its overwhelming majority to introduce the legislation as promised, and facing the Liberals and Tories with a fait accompli, which would soon prove to be so beneficial that they would not dare to touch it, the CCF government has pulled back, has shelved the whole project. The advisory committee which Douglas had appointed and which was to work within five principles, now has no terms of reference and has been widened to encompass a representative of the Chamber of Commerce along with one from the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor. It will hold no sessions until AFTER the elections.

The Tories have been quick to grab onto this retreat, hoping to remove the whole question of a medical plan as an election issue with a promise to set up a Royal Commission to study the matter. Renegade CCF MP Ross Thatcher, now heading the Liberals, promises a plebiscite after the elections. The CCF leadership has weakened its position on the question but nonetheless it would appear that the medical care plan, socialized medicine, will be the big issue on June 8.

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TRIBUTE TO GEORGE STANTON UNION MILITANT & SOCIALIST

By ROSS DOWSON

With the death of George Stanton on April 25 the American labor and socialist movement suffered a grievous loss. Affectionately known as Paddy, he was a colorful figure, widely known over the past 35 years on the West Coast and Eastern Canada, and in the previous decade in Chicago and on the US West Coast.

He was a rebel and a fighter—every inch of him. All his time, his great energy, what goods he possessed were always on call, without reservation, at the service of the union and socialist cause. Steeped in the great revolutionary traditions of his class and supremely confident of its future victory, his voice, his manner, everything about him was cut from the one cloth. His dramatic postures, his booming voice, his vivid earthy imagery were a familiar part of union meetings, conferences, political forums, street corner rallies, from coast to coast for almost four decades.

Stanton collapsed and died as he picked up his welding torch on a job at Malton just outside Toronto, in the harness of the class of which he was so proud to be a member.

One of the pioneers of American industrial unionism, as the unions became consolidated he saw many erstwhile associates metamorphize into conservative office holders. But Stanton always stayed with the ranks. He had a healthy contempt for the "pie cards" and the aspirants for seats in the parliamentary "gas house". He was totally unconcerned with the scramble to accumulate the material goods of this world. No ascetic, he indulged himself whenever he was, as he would put it, "steaky." But he travelled light, always with his eye on the future.

Generous to what the average person would consider the extreme, warm and considerate, he had a healthy hatred and intolerance for ignorance and weakness whenever they would show up in the circles that he moved. Stanton knew many defeats, strikes broken, unions collapse, associates weaken, falter and fall, in the course of the struggle,

GEORGE "PADDY" STANTON, 1901-1960

splits and schisms, but he never lost the long view.

He became a materialist and a class conscious militant very early. He was launched off in this course, to which he unfalteringly adhered until the end, by a group of German socialist prisoners of World War I which, as a stripling soldier, he had been placed in charge of. Born in Dublin, 1901, of a petit bourgeois family, upon his arrival in America in the early twenties he came into contact with the Wobblies. Stanton absorbed the best that was in the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union movement which inspired a generation of radicals with their revolutionary spirit—and it never left him.

Stanton was at his best, he was in his element when the workers were moving in militant anti-capitalist struggle and needed a voice. He was a powerful agitator and popularizer of the socialist program. He was no writer, nor was he a theoretician in the ordinary meaning of the word. But he was a serious student not only fully acquainted with all the major writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, their associates and their opponents, but he grasped the most complex of their ideas. He possessed a great gift and tireless enthusiasm to translate them in terms that the average worker found interesting and could grasp readily.

When the class moved forward Paddy moved forward with it to hold posts of leadership and responsibility. He attended many national CLC-CIO conventions as a rank and file delegate from the various unions of which he was a member. It was at the height of the war when the Stalinist-influenced delegates were attempting to saddle the CLC convention with a no-strike pledge that Stanton delivered the major opposition address.

At the climax of his speech, he turned to the Stalinist caucus to declare his solidarity with "the greatest strike in history" led by Lenin and Trotsky in the midst of a war which "started the October Revolution of 1917 and which will continue until the last capitalist bond and debenture is shriveled up on the funeral pyre of the last imperialist warlord."

Shortly after transferring from Vancouver Local No. 1 of the Boilermakers Union in 1943, he became president of the Prince Rupert Local No. 4 and president of the Prince Rupert Labor Council. For a period he was chairman of the Educational Committee of the

Continued p 2B

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Toronto area council of the United Steelworkers for whom he wrote a popular history of the Canadian labor movement. In 1950 when the CCL organized the National Federation of Unemployed Workers he was appointed the full-time organiezr for the Toronto Labor Council.

Not only did Stanton vigorously strive to give a class understanding to and develop the militancy of his fellow workers but he persistently explained how their struggle was part of a world wide class struggle. A newspaper clipping reporting his decisive re-election as president of the Prince Rupert Boilermakers records a motion that he presented and was passed unanimously, condemning the Churchill government for its counter revolutionary terror against the Greek people.

Very early in the struggle Stanton identified himself with the revolutionary socialist views of Leon Trotsky. Before Canadian supporters had sufficient resources to publish a paper on their own he became an enthusiastic promoter of the US weekly **The Militant.** He took a large bundle, which together with all the books and pamphlets put out by Pioneer Publishers he vigorously promoted throughout the Vancouver labor and socialist movement.

Not one to stand aside from broad movements of his class, as early as 1934, just one year after it was founded, he joined the BC CCF to fight within it for a revolutionary socialist program.

In 1954, as the right wing of the Ontario CCF decided to finally cut itself off from the socialist past of the movement, they moved in against the left and formally expelled some fifteen. Stanton appeared as their spokesman at the dramatic appeal to the provincial convention.

Two years later the top brass of the Ironworkers Union laid charges against him for, among other things, urging his local and sister locals to protest plans to bring the infamous US Senator McCarthy to Toronto for a public rally. On both occasions Stanton put up a splendid fight in which the accused became the accuser. The union brass did not dare to deprive him of his card but struck at him by depriving him of his voice and vote in the local.

As a union man Stanton knew the power of organization. He was a revolutionary socialist and an internationalist to the core. The great aim, the meaning of his life, was the building of the Canadian party of the world socialist revolution. At the time of his death he was chairman of the Socialist Educational League. His comrades and the thousands who were influenced by his vibrant personality and ideas will sorely miss him in the days ahead.

Fought to Preserve Costly Lessons of Past Struggles

By BILL WHITNEY, Vancouver

Those of us on the Pacific Coast who were associated with Paddy Stanton, whose death you announced this month, would appreciate the opportunity to express our feeling that the cause [illegible] **Marxism was consid** [illegible] **advanced because** [illegible] **his efforts.** [illegible] **Stanton,** [illegible] **almost al** [illegible] **area car** [illegible] **vatic** [illegible]

Recall Whe

By REG BULLC

A dozen of us, some who kr discussing the loss to the worki and reminiscent anecdotes were newsstand at Georgia and Gran really flew. "Remember how Pad ist literature stashed away unde the dentists and doctors in the cause they were fascinated and way to avoid remaining the obje

"Yes," chimed in another (v had all the Stalinists pegged. Tl side of the street to escape spotted his stentorian Irish them as fronts for 'co really fearless wi

"Sure Pa

"He had phras w

AN APPRECIATION OF STANTON BY BC CCF LEADER CAMERON

The following are excerpts from a letter by Colin Cameron in appreciation of George "Paddy" Stanton. At the time of writing, Cameron, who has held leading positions in the BC and national CCF, was the member in the federal house for Nanaimo. While in disagreement with many of Stanton's views, Cameron addressed this letter to the 1955 Ontario CCF convention in solidarity with Stanton who was the spokesman for a score of revolutionary socialists fighting against their expulsion by the right wing.

. . . I regard with the very greatest concern the attempts which are made from time to time in different sections of our movement to rid the CCF of those difficult persons who ask awkward questions—those exasperating people who play the role of watchdog and bark at our heels whenever, in their view, we tend to stray too far from the socialist path on which we set our feet twenty-odd years ago.

Of such is Paddy Stanton. I do not for one moment deny that he can be the most exasperating creature. Nor do i deny that he has very little of what most of us would call practical political sense. But that is hot the function of the Paddy Stantons of this world. Theirs is the role of goads, spurs, prickly thorns in the flesh of our complacency.

He and his kind juggle with ideas—and that of course is a hanging crime to those who find ideas disturbing and distressing. But this CCF movement will die without ideas. . . .

I have no doubt that there will be among you those who are convinced that Paddy Stanton is a sinister and dangerous character. Of course he is a dangerous character—he is a socialist and he has the unpopular habit of proclaiming his socialist views in season and out of season. Yes indeed, he is dangerous, but only to those who seek to protect the status quo of capitalist society.

I have known Paddy Stanton for many years. I have argued with him, fought with him, worked with him. I know him for an exasperating, infuriating comrade. But I know him also as that none too common phenomenon—the man without an axe to grind—that is except the axe of socialism. I have heard Paddy on the busy streets of Vancouver selling papers with one hand and socialism with the other. I have watched him successfully battling with and outwitting the Communists in the trade union movement, long before many of today's leaders were even in the trade union movement. And I have seen him do this without abandoning, as so many have abandoned, his socialist conviction or his socialist fervor.

Paddy Stanton is an agitator, a rabble rouser, an embarrassment to all respectable, conventional people. He has a lamentable lack of respect for those in authority. But among the working class there are a great many who are not very respectable, not very conventional, people who regard those in authority, whether in business, in a political party, or a trade union, as obejcts of the deepest suspicion. And it is the support of just such people that the CCF sorely needs, and nowhere more than in Ontario. For such people Paddy Stanton has a message. It is a socialist message delivered in terms that the man in the factory can understand and appreciate.

Paddy Stanton is that valuable type of worker in the socialist movement who is at one and the same time an intellectual with an abiding interest in abstract ideas and also a down-to-earth, common-as-dirt member of the working class. We need his kind to present to the ordinary worker in language he can understand, those abstract ideas on which any successful program must be based.

So I beg you to consider very carefully before you deprive the CCF of his talents. He will infuriate you, embarrass you, enrage you without end, but he will not betray the fundamental ideas on which the CCF was founded. You need him and his kind—and if you do not know it, that is the frightening measure of your dire need of ideas and those who can voice them.

Demand that Canada Break from NORAD-NATO Pacts

THE EDITORS

After a week of lies and double talk, so shocked were the Canadian people by the US State Department's shameless admission it has been violating the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union with its U2 spy planes, that External Affairs Minister Howard Green felt compelled to charge the US with risking the atomic destruction of the world. He recognized that "one of these days such an incident might trigger a nuclear war." He expressed the fear, but the hope that such an act of war would not wreck the summit conference scheduled a week later.

It was this deliberate brinkmanship, not at all a routine case of peacetime spying that it is now being made out to be, and the Pentagon's brazen declaration that it would continue with such provocations, that sank the summit conference. Mr. Green's words are as true now as they were then. But today Prime Minister Diefenbaker is praising "the restraint and dignity and high sense of purpose with which the Western leaders attempted to overcome the difficulties which Mr. Khrushchov had put in the way," and affirms the strengthened "resolve of the Western countries to remain united."

The unity that Diefenbaker seeks to maintain is continued commitment of Canadian arms and manpower to the NATO war pact which welds a network of close to 1,000 military bases around the USSR, one of which the shot-down U2 operated from. It is continued subservience to the Pentagon bosses of NORAD. This unity is a pact of death, for it can only lead to a stepped-up military drive and a nuclear holocaust triggered by the Pentagon.

Through a maze of official admissions and counter-statements it is now clear that under the NORAD agreement, signed by the Liberal government and implemented by the Tories, control of Canada's air space, in fact Canada's foreign policy, lies entirely in the hands of the Pentagon. Canadian bases have been utilized for U2 flights that have been going on now for some four years over Soviet territory. On the very day of the summit meeting, when NORAD forces were provocatively placed on the war-state of "increased readiness," Mr. Diefenbaker refused to deny the use of Canadian air space to United States U2 spy planes. The policies of the Diefenbaker government are hurtling us towards war.

Under NORAD and NATO the militarization of Canada goes on apace.. In collaboration with the US, Canada is making and stock piling psycho-chemicals, nerve gases and germs—eight ounces

(Continued from page 1)

of one could wipe out all humanity. The government has arranged the taking over of a US submarine preparatory to building a Canadian submarine fleet.

The military budget stands at only 11.9 per cent less than during the height of the Korean war—more is being spent per capita than in Britain with its vast navy and overseas armies; the cold warriors will not doubt now go full steam ahead with the Bomarc bases.

Stop Canada from pursuing its suicidal course! Join the struggle to make our place in the world one that Canadian working men and women can be proud of!

Break Canada from the NATO and NORAD military pacts. Force an end to military expenditures. Divert the funds to a national health plan, low-cost housing, schools and other necessities. Join the march to a workers and farmers government in Ottawa.

Democracy Must Prevail

Mid May 60

Who should and who should not be a member of the new labor party? Why everyone who believes in independent labor political action and is prepared to do something in support of that belief!

But on the one hand the joint CLC-CCF committee has made

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special allowance for the admission of all persons who fall in the amorphous category of being "liberally minded" and a considerable staff has been allocated to enlist them in new party clubs that will stand outside of both constituency and union affiliate membership. On the other, we have a situation in British Columbia where the membership of one person, a respected leader of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union, became a matter for provincial convention decision. And in a series of seminars in the East, top, "responsible," leaders of the new party movement, in a boastful, truculent way, talk in terms of keeping a whole category of persons out.

It has become more or less accepted that the Communist Party must be barred. But in this case this traditional scare used to bar the door to all left minority opinion, this excuse, is not even available. The Communist threat doesn't exist. It is a well-known fact that the Communist Party does not support the new party.

Deprived of this traditional thought-controlling device and being compelled to concede that it is not exactly within the liberal ethos to exclude persons for opinions that they may hold, within the framework of supporting the new party, these "responsible" leaders are having to find other arguments to justify their exclusionist policies. They are circulating the slander that the Trotskyists, who it is well known, consistently supported the CCF, did so only in order to wreck it. And presumably in supporting the new labor party they have the same totally inexplicable purpose in mind, to wreck it.

The CCF always had in its ranks what the right wing designated as Trotskyists—this is the label that they gave their left wing opponents, the genuine socialist current. M. J. Coldwell, in his address on the 25th anniversary of the CCF, commenting on the diversity of opinion in the CCF at the very beginning, mentions a group "from Toronto who were in reality Trotskyites and we had of course, a United Farmers of Ontario group led by Agnes Macphail." Admittedly, convinced Trotskyists joined (many were barred) and encouraged others to join the CCF—strange conduct for alleged wreckers. When a score of Ontario members charged with Trotskyism, were expelled, they fought to maintain their membership, which in one case was of 20 years duration. They battled from the Ontario provincial convention right up to the Winnipeg national convention where symbolically the right wing cut away the last vestige of the Regina Manifesto. But even the official records of the CCF, written by the accusers, do not sustain the charge of wrecking. The Ontario provincial council was compelled to admit that "the accused had been useful members of their riding associations and had not shown any overt disruptive tendencies," that they were expelled not for any overt acts but for their ideas.

The CCF has been wrecked alright, but it wasn't any of the doings of the Trotskyists. Whether for good or for evil they were never in a position to determine any of the actions or policies of the party. The wreckers of the CCF were the identical persons who are expounding this policy of exclusion to the new party—the Mackenzie's, the MacDonald's, the Bryden's and Lazarus', the Coldwell's and Lewis'. They wrecked the CCF by watering down the program until it became indistinguishable from that of the capitalist parties, by leading the pack for Canadian participation in the war to sustain the bloody dictator Syngman Rhee, by flouting the national convention decision and supporting German Rearmament, by harrassing and driving out of the movement all those Trotskyists and alleged Trotskyists, everyone who opposed their ruinous course.

There is a real and present danger to the new labor party—it lies in the very persons who are presenting themselves as its leaders. These wreckers of all the promises that the CCF once had, having learned nothing, are now interfering in the launching of a great new project so full of promise for the Canadian people. Their policy of exclusion of the Trotskyists and anyone else for that matter, who stand on the principle of independent labor political action, seriously jeopardizes the development of the new labor party. No one should allow them to implement this policy.

Mid-June, 1960 Vol. 5, No. 7(55) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Not Wanted!

US PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Japanese Strike Blow For Peace

By P. KENT

The forced cancellation of President Eisenhower's visit to Japan, and the announced resignation of the convicted war criminal and US stooge, Japanese prime minister Kishi, who hammered through the US-Japanese pact over the opposition of his own party, is the biggest blow dealt US military plans since World War II.

Coming on top of the upheavals in the key military base of Turkey, and the overthrow of US puppet Singman Rhee, the Japanese people's struggles threaten to start a chain reaction through, and tear apart the military pacts and alliances against the USSR that US capitalism has been knitting together since the opening of the cold war.

The torrent of lies in the press and over TV about "mobs," "hot eyed fanatics," "communist agents" and "Moscow-Peking gold," cannot hide the fact that the entire Japanese peoples fear the intentions that lie behind the pact that guarantees US bases on Japan at least for another 10 years, and that they want peace.

Any doubt on this score was removed on June 22 when the Japanese General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo) called out its six million members in the biggest post-war strike, in protest against the pact and demanding that the Kishi government resign.

In a denial that they are anti-American demonstrations, the Toronto Globe and Mail correspondent Fred Nossal wrote from Tokyo on June 24 that "during several months of demonstrations, even bloody riots, not one of the thousands of Americans in Japan was harmed. . . . Nobody smashed windows of US enterprises operating all over Tokyo. . . . A far more correct name for them," he writes, "would be anti-war protests. . . ."

What the press describes as "democracy" is the Kishi government that has permitted US U2 planes to be launched over the USSR from Japanese bases and whose police physically removed the opposition from the Diet to pass the pact. Kishi, notes Nossal, in his June 18 dispatch, has united the entire country in opposition. "The ruling Liberal democrats find that Kishi has become so unpopular that virtually all other factions from extreme Trotskyites and Communists to Unionists, Socialists, and even democratic Socialists and middle road intellectuals, blame him for bungling the question of the security pact."

What the press describes as "mobs" and rule by "mobocracy," are the protests of the entire Japanese people, who can never forget the atom bombs the US dropped in 1945.

The main butt of the lies and slanders are the students of Japan and their 250,000 member National Federation of Student Self-Government Associations (Zengakuren). As Nossal observes, they "lit a match . . . to a smoldering volcano." In his June 22 column Nossal gives some insight on the student movement.

Japanese students are "lucky to earn between 10 and 20 cents an hour," when working to get money for books and fees. "Japan's top universities can accept only one in every 16 applicants."

Zengakuren, he writes, contains "various factions. The Kijosand (Communist League) and the Kakukyodo (Revolutionary Communist League) think Japan's Communist Party bourgeois, and accuse Khrushchov of being too mild . . . A third faction secretly views extremists with disdain and accuses them of being Trotskyites. These milder Zengakuren students cooperate with the Japanese CP and believe in a Communist Japan but back peaceful co-existence even more."

Kishi's police and army detachments have been brutally terrorizing the peaceful and massive Zengakuren - led demonstrations. This is how Rene Georges Inagaki described in the Toronto Star, the demonstration outside the Diet that was the high point of the June 16 general strike.

"Police massed on two sides to contain them but didn't interfere. The students kept shouting 'murderers' at the police and held a one-minute silent prayer for a girl killed in one of the charges. Some 40 ambulances were carrying out the injured demonstrators.

"BEAT THEM"

Shortly after 1 a.m. police exploded tear gas grenades into the crowd.

Heavy helmeted columns rushed out in a wild- club-swinging charge. Their officers yelled:

'Beat them, beat them, don't let anyone escape.'

After the charge a dozen students and others lay moaning on the wet street. Some police kicked at them and slapped handcuffs on any student they could seize.

Two girls were hit repeatedly by police sticks and left on the ground. Four other policemen had backed a student against a wall and were raining blows on him.

That was the end of the demonstration, but the students were vowing to do it again."

On June 22, the Japanese people did it again. Their militant struggles have struck mighty blows for world peace.

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Repeal Immigration Laws! Grant Amnesty to Chinese!

THE EDITORS

In what has been called their biggest peacetime operation, in the past month, more than 200 RCMP officers have broken in on private homes and businesses and abusively disturbed persons in nine major cities. Their biggest wartime operation was the forced mass removal of an entire racial group from the west coast which broke up and scattered entire families and resulted in the loss of all the goods that they had accumulated in a lifetime of labor. Then it was the Japanese-Canadians. This time the Chinese-Canadians are the harassed and hunted.

According to an estimate with which RCMP Commissioner Harvison would not disagree, since 1946 some 12,000 to 16,000 Chinese have entered Canada illegally. From a question put before the house by a CCF MP, but so far unanswered, we can only conclude that the RCMP is conducting a mass census of all persons of Chinese origin. This terrorization of the Chinese community is alleged to be justified in order to get at the 12,000 to 16,000, many of whom are living in back room and filthy conditions, skulking in the shadows, frightened to go out in the streets; and a scattering of racketeers and con men who, reaping personal advantage, squeezed as much as $8,000 out of many of them, and oppress many under conditions of indentured labor.

They are criminals, and of course must pay the price, according to the law and the government. Minister of Immigration Fairclough has given assurances of "a humanitarian approach" to those illegal entrants who surrender themselves to the authorities. But can these assurances be taken seriously coming from a government that has left on the statute books a law which is far from humanitarian; which is in fact racist to the core and a breach of the most elementary of civil rights?

When CCF MP Arnold Peters admitted to having told Chinese Canadians not to wait for the amendments to the Immigration Act, but to go ahead and pay their $3,000 to fixers, Liberal MP Pickersgill and the immigration minister registered shock and indignation. Pious comments about the sanctity of the law filled the press.

But the laws are, as Peters said; "so bad that they make law abiding and honest citizens break the laws in order to accomplish what they think is morally just and morally right." Besides, the monstrous character of the law has been well known to every government in office and they have not shown even the slightest inclination to change it.

In 1955 back-bencher Diefenbaker, now Prime Minister, described the immigration regulations as "arbitrary lawlessness"—as a denial of fundamental rights, and demanded urgent amendments. Now five years later, and some three years in office, his minister talks of slow and cautious discussions about the law. In the process of the current debate, now a back-bencher, but five years ago the

See END TERROR—page 3

minister of immigration, Pickersgill, admitted shame for his enforcing the deportation of persons who have small children who were born in Canada.

It is the law of course that makes criminals—criminals of men who want their wives to be with them in their adopted country, criminals of youth who wish to live in Canada, and criminals of persons who, it is true, lined their own pockets, but nonetheless provided avenues so that these honest, and morally just and right, aspirations could be met.

But it is obvious that it is the law that is criminal. And the real criminals are those who had, or now have, the power to change the law but have left it on the statute books and are now seeing to it that it is enforced. It is they who are the criminals.

If they wish to atone for this one, one of their many crimes against the Canadian people, they can immediately declare an amnesty for the 12,000 to 16,000 Chinese now threatened by the RCMP. And without another moment's delay, with a couple of simple motions in the commons, tear down all the racist barriers, discriminatory regulations and financial restrictions that they have erected against people who want to come to this country to live.

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New Possibilities & Experiences

Across the world, there is a rising consciousness that if the drive towards war is to be blocked and a lasting peace established it can no longer be left in the hands of government leaders at summit conferences and the like. Quite the contrary—the people themselves must intervene to take matters into their own hands.

This rising consciousness is not limited to Japan—it is spreading and growing in Canada too. It was revealed in the fact that over 2,000 Torontonians answered the call sent out by seven individuals to rally at Massey Hall early this month and launch the Toronto Committee for Disarmament which plans to organize study groups across the city and link together groups in other cities. It was apparent in the various actions that developed on the Canadian campuses during the last term and in the organization of such committees as the National Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards last year.

Take the evolution of the latter committee over the last year. It originally set itself the modest task of acquainting the Canadian people with the dangers of radio-activity. It was a "safe" committee with a "safe" objective, loud in declaring its freedom from radical influence and its purity from any political aim.

Events of the past year have had their impact on NCCRH. In its first convention, while making the record of opposing the spread of nuclear arms, it proved unable to take a stand against nuclear arms on Canadian soil. Its chairman, former UN administrator Hugh Keenleyside, called the motion that evaded doing so, "disingenuous." Dr. Dion stated "we cannot justify our existence," and Dr. Kaplan dismissed the program as "all platitudes." It is doubtful that NCCRH will survive.

The Toronto Committee for Disarmament, just coming on the scene, is more in harmony with changing consciousness. It is for disarmament—world disarmament, and not as a pious wish. It urges steps of a unilateral character—that the Canadian government "abandon the present plans to equip Canadian armed forces with nuclear weapons and prohibit the storing of such weapons on Canadian territory." It urges that "Canada should lead the way to disarmament."

The committee has drawn up its demands and correctly addressed them to Ottawa. Mrs. Fred Davis, who called upon the Massey Hall audience to "declare an all-out war on nuclear annihilation," has led a deputation to Ottawa.

It is obvious that the committee exists solely because those who rule Canada and the political party in government at Ottawa are following a policy that is completely contrary to the interests of the Canadian people, as the Toronto Committee sees it and has spelled it out.

Yet the delegation, according to Mrs. Davis, went to ask these same government leaders for advice as to "how the women of Canada can be of service in promoting disarmament." "We would like to feel," she said, that "they are in favor of us before going any further." The delegation was received by External Affairs Minister Green with pious platitudes, and left with starry-eyed illusions about the government.

Everyone should support and participate in the work of the committee for unilateral disarmament. But the committee will have to go where its program takes it without regard to repercussions. Otherwise it will not only fail in its proclaimed purpose but will spread illusions as to the nature of the struggle and the course to be taken to achieve its aims.

It comes as no surprise that the day following the committee's interview with cabinet minister Green, his fellow cabinet minister Pearkes announced to the commons defence committee; "At the present time negotiations are proceeding with the US for the general use by Canadian forces (of US nuclear warheads) and the storing of atomic weapons in Canada for the use either by US or Canadian forces."

We are now, of course, expecting to see the committee roundly condemn the government and to project a new line of march to achieve its aims.

Mid-July, 1960 Vol. 5, No. 8(56) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

STOP THE COLD WAR DRIVE AGAINST CUBA

By ROSS DOWSON

Just 18 months ago the struggle of the Cuban people led by Fidel Castro and the July 26 movement had the approval, a cautious approval, it is true, of the Canadian press. Today this tiny island off the Florida coast, only slightly larger than Newfoundland, with a population about equal to that of Ontario, is depicted as the gravest threat, not only to the most powerful nation, the United States of America, but to the entire "free" world, including Canada.

Today the big business press is waging vicious propaganda war against the Cuban revolution. The **Toronto Star** recently carried an editorial cartoon depicting bearded, Fidelists, their arms laden with wrist watches like common looters, armed to the teeth with grenades, knives, and burp guns, marching tourists into Cuban hotels at pistol point. Another cartoon depicted a kindly, aged Uncle Sam, with a gigantic murderous knife sticking out between his shoulder blades, labelled—Cuba. The editors of the **Globe and Mail** recently urged that Canada "call our ambassador home from Cuba . . . we can thus show our distaste for Mr. Castro's behavior."

Philip Deane, the **Globe and Mail's** Washington correspondent quite frankly reported in his July 2 column that "Washington will try to strengthen the opponents of Premier Fidel Castro by a combination of political and economic pressures." **Washington has taken to openly aiding counter-revolutionary forces in another country, he writes, because "these are not the Guatemala days when the invasion of that country was carefully ar-**

See OVERTHROW—page 2

At A Co-Operative In Cuba

Standing in the doorway of his home, an agricultural co-operator explains to visitors how much better things are under the Castro government. Farrell Dobbs (left), Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the US, listens with pleasure.

(Continued from page 1)

ranged and financed by Central Intelligence Agency."

"Washington will now make the pressures worse, by cutting the sugar imports, by other indirect economic pressures," because, he writes, it sees "the seeds of Castro's potential downfall . . . in these two facts—popular resentment against shortages and Catholic opposition."

What is behind the campaign against Cuba that has reached such vicious and petty lengths as to bring to his knees that redoubtable fighter Joe Louis, and force him to dissociate himself from a business deal to encourage tourists to spend their vacation in Cuba? What has happened in Cuba in the past 18 months to provoke such cynical open identification with subversive counter-revolutionary forces against the government of tiny Cuba, by the ruling circles of both the US and Canada?

When Castro came to power, Cuba had an illiteracy rate of 33.5 per cent. A million Cubans had never worn shoes. Half a million had never tasted milk or meat. More than a million had never known medical care. In a year and a half 1,392 co-operatives have been set up. They have received agricultural machinery and implements costing 20 million dollars from the National Institute of Agrarian Reform. Tens of thousands of housing units have been completed and 6,000 new classrooms were set up in the first eight months. Student enrolment has grown from 660,000 in 1958 to over one million in 1959. Electricity and telephone rates have been cut by a third and a half respectively, and medicines by one fifth. Rents have been cut in half.

There is no race prejudice in Cuba, as many American Negro visitors have testified. There is no hostility to the American people. **Star** correspondent Garry Baker, in reply to a question from revolutionary leader Che Guevara, "had to admit," though looking like an Americano, "that I had received nothing but friendship and help from the Cuban people since I arrived."

Cuba is the most free country in the world—10,000 times more free than the dollar democracies of capitalism and the totalitarian regimes of the Soviet bloc! All propaganda about armed "barbuda", spies, notwithstanding, the masses are solidly with Castro, writes Halcro Ferguson in the **Globe and Mail** June 25. Cuba, according to Ferguson, "is not a dictatorship as it is understood in Europe. Within a revolutionary content (a proviso which cannot be too strongly emphasized) it is a

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OVERTHROW OF CASTRO REGIME PLAN OF OIL & SUGAR BOSSES

remarkably free country."

"Havana's oldest and most conservative daily, EL DIARIO DE LA MARINA," according to Ferguson, "is unhappy about the present regime and loses no opportunity of quoting criticism from abroad and reporting defections of Cuban officials abroad," Then he adds an observation which perhaps throws some light on what he means by his proviso. "Each of these stories is followed by an insert in heavy type; 'Explanation; This cable is published at the wish of the owners in the exercise of free speech . . . But the local branch of the printers' union, also in legitimate exercise of this right, states that it . . . constitutes an attack on the revolution."

The new head of the Cuban Embassy at Ottawa, Luis Baralt, put it this way in his claim that 95 per cent of the people are solidly in support of Castro—the Revolutionary Government armed "the whole population" and "if they do not support him, they have the means to overthrow him."

In the last week, the Globe and Mail, like the rest of the world press, seized on an incident that took place outside the Havana Cathedral following a mass on July 17, together with garbled reports of a speech by Castro, to make the case that there is religious persecution in Cuba and a developing opposition to the regime which we in some way should be sympathetic to. But inadvertently, in the course of its weekly news round-up on July 23, we learn that the mass called by the Catholic hierarchy was in commemoration of the beginning of the war and in celebration of the victory of fascism in Franco Spain.

Behind the hysteria and lies being whipped up against Cuba is the hatred of capitalist interests who looted the lush Caribbean island for decades and whose power and influence the Castro regime has been seriously curtailing in the interests of the people. Behind the economic blockade and promotion of counter-revolution lies the fear that Cuba's example will spur other Latin American people to throw off their tyrants and go forward with similar measures for the benefit of the workers and peasants, displeasing to the foreign and native capitalists.

In order to give land to the peasants the Castro regime nationalized some $20 million of the $900 million land holdings of US corporations. Largely due to false reports of conditions in Cuba, hotels have been going to the wall. The National Hotel, owned by a US firm, paid no wages to its staff for 41 days. Some hotels owed for food and services, debts as high as $300,000. Layoffs were taking

FIDEL CASTRO

place. So the government nationalized the hotels.

Now a big hue and cry has arisen that Cuba has become a satellite of the Soviet Union—the US State Department justifies its war-like threats against tiny Cuba in the name of the Monroe Doctrine.

The evidence is Cuba's willingness to trade with and accept economic aid from the Soviet Union, and innumerable inside reports on Soviet infiltration of the Cuban government. Why shouldn't Cuba trade with whoever will trade with her and on whatever terms are satisfactory to her? And in the face of the US State Department's blockade what alternative faces Cuba? When Castro was forced to sell Cuba's sugar surplus to the USSR and compelled to accept oil in return, British and US oil interests refused to refine the oil. What alternative did the Castro government have other than to seize the refineries! Or should it see the economy grind to a halt for lack of gasoline and other oil derivatives?

The dangers inherent in Wall Street's aggressive policies, made in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, have alarmed the Canadian press. "We can see that the Monroe Doctrine would apply if Cuba came under Russian occupation," write the editors of the Globe and Mail. "We do not see that it applies if Cuba maintains close relations with Russia. On the contrary the Monroe Doctrine sustains the right of Cuba to have whatever government it wants—including a Communist government—and to formulate its own trade and foreign policies."

The editors of THE STAR consider that the US has got itself in a trap and has established "the Soviets in Cuban minds as well as those probably of most Latin Americans—as a staunch champion of this little country." What Eisenhower has said in effect "is that Washington will not permit the emergence of any new revolutionary government that in its opinion is dominated by international communism. This notion is certain to strike most Latin American countries as absurd and even dangerous."

The Castro government—a pawn of the Kremlin? Che Guevara, president of the National Bank and named more than any other Cuban leader as "a Kremlin man," answered this charge that the US State Department has stuck onto this genuine revolutionary transformation. He told Star reporter Garry Barker: "it is stupid to say that the ideology of one man is able to change the thinking of a whole country." In reply to the suggestion that Russia would attempt to colonize Cuba he replied that Cuba's sovereignty was the basis and whole spirit of the revolution—"We would fight international Communism with all our power just as we now fight American encroachments upon our soil."

As for the Communist Party itself, it is hardly a factor in the whole situation. It played no role in the revolution whatsoever and in fact supported Batiste for many years, and did so almost to the very end.

Of course, like Stalin, Khrushchov seeks political profit in Cuba, Latin America and the rest of the colonial world. He seeks to utilize revolutionary movements in his deals with the big powers. The editors of the FINANCIAL POST have already taken the hint from his pose as staunch champion of the Latin American people. In the July 16 issue they point out the danger to the US that logically flows from its justifications for intervention against governments it calls Communist.

"If the Americans are entitled to liquidate a Red Stronghold in the Caribbean, the Communists have obviously the same right to wipe out American bases in the China Sea or the Middle East. The only answer to these questions," these Bay Street advisers write, "is that the US and the Communist bloc must agree about the governance of the world . . ."

But the Cuban people are on the march to govern themselves, not be subject to any agreements between the big powers, and so are the peoples of all of Latin America.

The Vanguard

Mid-July, 1960 Vol. 5, No. 8(56)

Let The People Vote On Issue Of Nuclear Arms!

THE EDITORS

Slowly but surely, step by step, Canada is entering the nuclear arms club. Should it continue on the course that the Diefenbaker government has set, Canada will shortly become the first non-nuclear weapon producing nation to become nuclear armed. Canada's weight will be placed on the side of the scales that will make an H Bomb war a more threatening reality. As if this isn't enough, not only the Canadian people, but not even the Tory government will have any control over these arms. They will be under the control of the itchy fingered war mongers in the Pentagon.

The construction of the Bomarc bases at Mont Joli and North Bay is proceeding. Of doubtful military value, to say the least—without nuclear warheads the Bomarc is of even less value. The money has been allocated to re-equip RCAF forces in Europe with attack aircraft, and, it is assumed by those in the know, with nuclear missiles. But the government is doggedly, persistently denying it.

A few weeks ago, however, following a secret meeting with Canadian officials, the US secretary of state gave the whole game away.

While the government has dodged the issue as to whether the Bomarc and other equipment should be nuclear armed, Mr. Gates, as a matter of fact, "assumed" that they would be. In flagrant contradiction to Diefenbaker's soft soap that should Canada buy in on US nuclear armament it would be controlled by the Canadian government, the US defence secretary baldly stated that US warheads on Canadian soil would remain under American control and would be fired "only by order of the president of the US." And when asked whether he presumed the weapons would be stored in Canada, and not as the Tories say, off Canadian soil until a state of emergency, after some hurried whispered advice from Mr. Green, Mr. Gates dismissed the question as an unimportant detail.

If there could be any remaining doubts as to the government's intentions they were certainly wiped out by Mr. Pearke's statement to the commons committee on defence expenditure that the West would reply to non-nuclear attacks with nuclear weapons.

That is why it is absurd in our opinion, for the Toronto Committee for Disarmament, in its open letter to Diefenbaker asking him to declare that nuclear weapons shall not be permitted in territory or to persons subject to the Government of Canada, to write at the same time, about its efforts "to create a climate of opinion which will strengthen you in your endeavors." And isn't it equally absurd for the University of Toronto Committee on Nuclear Disarmament to state that "our belief in the sincerity of the government in opposing nuclear warfare and promoting disarmaments is completely shaken"—and then to ask merely for the resignation of one man in the government, the defence minister, George Pearkes?

Not Mr. Pearkes, but it is the Diefenbaker government that is preparing to nuclear arm Canada. Mr. Diefenbaker must not be strengthened, but weakened, brought to a dead stop and turned

No Nuclear Arms for Canada!

(Continued from page 1)

back, in his endeavors. The government has no mandate from the people of Canada for its actions.

Political analysts at the time of the government's election to office agreed that it was for a more independent policy and a firmer stand against US infringments of Canadian sovereignty. Not only are the Canadian people having no say on the vital question as to whether Canada should arm itself with nuclear weapons, Diefenbaker is now surrendering Canadian sovereignty over national defence policy.

It's time to call a halt! The people of Canada should be given an opportunity to speak their mind. For a referendum, for a vote by the people as to whether Canada should be armed with thermo-nuclear weapons!

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Controvery on US Elections

Mid July/60

The eclipse of Stevenson's forces and the Kennedy-Johnson combination winning the Democratic nomination for next fall's US presidential election, and now what is presented by the press as a shift to a "liberal" policy on the part of Republican presidential aspirant Nixon, are causing considerable confusion on the left side of the Canadian political spectrum.

The **Vanguard,** of course, follows events in the US closely. We have naturally looked for proof of the correctness of the struggle we are involved in in this country, in the struggles of workers and farmers in other countries—particularly in the United States, which has an economic, political and social development and climate so similar to our own.

Like socialists the world over we anticipate that the struggle in Canada will find support from inside the US which possesses the most powerful working class in the world and at the same time is the center of the world counter-revolution. It is obvious that there is not the slightest possibiliy of a socialist Canada surviving without a parallel deepening of the class struggle in the United States.

Those are a few of the reasons why in recent issues the **Vanguard** has enthusiastically written up the presidential and vice-presidential campaign that has been launched by our fellow revolutionary socialists in the US—the Socialist Workers Party.

A major plank in their election program, just published in the **Militant,** is a call for an independent labor party based on the unions and including the Negro people and the working farmers.

On this ground alone the SWP campaign should be a source of great inspiration to the thousands of Canadians who are now actually going about building themselves such a party. Imagine what a lift to our struggle for a workers and farmers government the organization of a labor party based on the enormous strength of the American trade union movement would be.

One would naturally think that socialists in Canada—and all those who are behind the efforts to build a labor party here—would solidarize themselves with efforts along this line. But this is not the case.

While identifying themselves with the British Labor Party and its fight to take power, and while campaigning for a labor party here, the CCF and trade union leadership have been making no secret of their support of the capitalist Democratic party in the US. While rejecting it everywhere else, when it comes to the US, they apply the bankrupt theory of the lesser evil—with the capitalist Democratic party being presented as the lesser evil of the Tweedle-Dee Tweedle-Dum duo.

Expressing the bankruptcy that this policy of supporting the Democrats has now led to, when Stevenson and Humphrey failed, and Kennedy and Johnson won the nomination, CCF leader Hazen Argue cried out that "this new team . . . may be an unhappy combination of money and evil."

The Communist Party sees eye to eye with the CCF and trade union right wing. They too discern some vital differences between the Democrats and the Republicans. Although in the course of their many zig-zags, for some years they were unable to see any difference between the CCL-endorsed CCF and the old line capitalist parties here. And very shortly, now that they have announced that they will be running 17 and possibly 21 candidates in the coming BC elections, which will work to the detriment of the new labor party, they will be telling us that there is no real difference between it and the Social Credit, Liberal and Tory parties.

The failure of the CCF and trade union leadership to take a correct position on the American political scene is not an academic matter. It seriously undermines the effectiveness of their efforts to build a labor party in Canada—it plays into the hands of the Liberal opponents of the new party. Fortunately, what influence they will have on the American scene will not be in the direction of their anti-diluvian, pre-Hardie ideas, for in so far as they participate in the work of building a Canadian labor party their actions will serve as an inspiration for the American working class.

The Socialist Workers Party, as is a tradition with it, will put a big effort behind its presidential candidates. The problems before it are tremendous, and if one sees only the surface of things, its impact will appear small. But the fewness of forces, the magnitude of the task has never been the basis for non-support of the good fight—on the contrary, they will all the more win the respect, admiration and solidarity of supporters and builders of the Canadian labor party.

September, 1960 WV (#57) VOL. 5, NO. 9(57) (57) TORONTO—FIVE CENTS

UN ENGINEERS COUP AGAINST CONGOLESE

SEPT/60

By P. KENT

When Premier Patrice Lumumba asked the United Nations to come into the Congo he did so to force the Belgians to cease their aggressive actions against the newly-formed republic — to help the Congolese to really and truly establish self-determination. That's what the words of the July 14 Security Council resolution authorized Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold to do—to assist the government of Lumumba, to help it create an effective government.

But after two months of UN intervention in the Congo none of these proclaimed aims have been realized. Quite the contrary!

Straddled with fantastic debts, looted of its gold reserve, all its administrative offices purposely thrown into shambles by the retreating Belgians, the government of the newly-formed Congolese Republic is now even more seriously crippled. Its revolutionary forces, its police, its army, have been disarmed and deprived of all authority. Government officials have been barred from any access to the radio and to the airports, the sole method of communication with and transportation to large areas of the republic. It has been deprived of all authority over its richest province, Katanga, where the Belgian imperialist exploiters have been allowed to build up powerful forces with impunity. Tribal and regional dissension has been encouraged to such an extent that the republic has been all but destroyed.

Another army, another police force, in fact another government has all but taken over — one that cannot claim in any way that its authority stems from the interests or wishes of the Congolese people. An imperialist counter-revolution has taken place, made no more palatable in that it carries the United Nations label on it.

Presented to the world as an impartial body which is forbidden by its charter to intervene in the internal affairs of such a member state as the Congolese Republic, the UN in this case was going to block cold war rivalry on the African continent.

Under the guise of impartiality and non-interference in Congolese internal affairs it recognized and formalized the Belgian-inspired secession of Katanga by setting up a neutral zone around that province, patrolled by UN forces. By so doing the UN gave the green light to every dissident force, the assurance that they would have its support. While the UN seized the airfields in Leopoldville domains, under the pretence of neutralizing them, it failed to neutralize the Katanga airfields, and, acceding to Tschombe's defiance, left them in his hands. While it boldly took over in Leopoldville, in Elizabethville UN forces calmly watched Tschombe's police terrorize his opposition.

While censoring rumored Soviet aid to the Lumumba government in the form of air transportation and trucks, the UN proved powerless to do anything more than protest

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UN Fronts Imperialist Coup against Congolese

(Continued from page 1)

the refusal of Belgium, a NATO alliance member, to pull out of the Congo. According to the London Daily Mail, in the last week, Belgium has flown over 100 tons of arms and munitions into Katanga. Instead of acting as an irreconcilable opponent of the old imperialist enemy of the Congolese people, the UN has even served as a physical cover for it. "It is well known that Belgians have been using UN armbands without authority," writes the Times of London.

As with all counter-revolutions, the UN supremacy over the Congolese Republic has been established in the name of order and discipline. But the reports of rape and murder that appeared in the daily press, as the Belgians were forced out by the Congolese, had no truth in them; no more than the latest tales of the Congolese army's massacre of 300 at Backwanga, which the UN has admitted inability to confirm. Is the oppressive discipline of imperialism, its savage pillage, plunder and extermination, to be preferred to the struggle of a people to free themselves and to proceed to setting affairs in order in their own way? The murder, the rape in the Congo, is the violation and the garrotting of the Congo Republic.

This crime against the Congolese people, against the entire African revolution found no voice of opposition at the UN. At every crucial turning point Hammarskjold had the support of all the major powers, including that of the spokesmen of the government in the Soviet Union.

So far the UN has proven to be a most highly effective instrument for the preservation of the status quo, for the rescuing of imperialist interests in Africa which were being so seriously jeopardized by the actions of the Belgians, for blocking the Congolese revolution from establishing itself and further spreading throughout the African continent.

But the last word has not yet been said, either by the Congolese or by other revolutionary forces on the African continent. Last month John Kale, secretary of the National Party of Uganda, said: "We advocate immediate creation of a unified national army to face imperialist conspiracies against the Congo people." Other leaders of nationalist movements in Kenya, Cameroons, Zanzibar and Somaliland, in exile in Cairo, backed him up when he said his people "are ready to enter battle for the liberation of the Congo."

WV Sept 1960 #57 p.1

Bring Cdn Forces Back Home from the Congo!

THE EDITORS

Twice within 10 days, Canadians attached to the UN forces in the Congo have been attacked. Canada's external affairs minister ridiculed the suggestion that Congolese troops attacked 12 men and two officers at Leopoldville under the impression that they were troops of their former exploiters, the Belgian imperialists. Without further explanation, he said: "It looks pretty deliberate."

Fortunately it remained an incident. It might have gone further but, as one of the soldiers said: "I could do nothing because our arms were taken." Since then a shoot-if-you-must order was issued to UN forces.

Ten days later, two Canadian signallers, along with eight U.S. airmen at Stanleyville, in the words of UN representative Ralph Bunche, "had the hell beaten out of them and were lucky to be alive." He added ominously: "I have never been anywhere where misunderstanding was so deep."

When the order-in-council authorizing the involvement of Canadian forces in the Congo dispute came before the senate (all parties in the commons endorsed it), Senator Roebuck cautioned: "Are we sending troops to the Congo to hold down the population in years to come? Are we creating a precedent? Are we to send troops in future to all places where governments are being overthrown by rebellion?"

Is that what Mr. Green meant when he said the attack on the Canadian troops was deliberate? Are the deep misunderstandings that Mr. Bunche feels, the rising conviction of the

See BRING OUR BOYS—page 3

Bring Our Boys Back Home!

(Continued from page 1)

Congolese people that the UN, that Canadian troops, are merely replacing the hated Belgians?

Those Canadians on the spot sense that that is their role, and who knows better? A Canadian Press dispatch dated the day before the Stanleyville incident stated: "The Canadian contingent, anxious to go home, greeted with pleasure Lumumba's announcement that he wants UN troops to follow the Belgians out of the country."

Lumumba asked Diefenbaker for technicains but he got armed men. The Canadian people don't want to be used as policemen for imperialists, as jailers of African freedom fighters.

Sensing our uneasiness, the editors of the **Toronto Star** declare that "it is too early for Canadians to say 'bring our boys home.'" But if the matter is further delayed it may well be too late to bring them home except in coffins and before we are embroiled in a shameful war against the African peoples.

The time is now! Bring the Canadian troops home now!

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Action on Unemployment!

Sept/60 WV #57 p. 2

To deal with the cancerous growth of unemployment, CLC executive vice-president Stanley Knowles has issued a call for an emergency session, for a summit conference of labor, management and government.

Just a few days previously, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Union, Donald N. Secord, suggested to a Montreal Kiwanis Club that a high-level meeting of business and labor leaders be assembled to draft ground rules to seek agreement on the basic principles which should govern introduction of automation. Such a code "would exert great moral pressure," he suggested, "on both sides . . ."

But such a conference would not serve in any way the cause of labor. Not that the situation across the country is not grave—for it is.

Even according to government figures, between June and July the number of unemployed rose to a post-war high of 311,000 —11,000 more than in June—an unprecedented increase for a summer period, and 83,000 more than last year. In Toronto, unemployment has risen 34.6 per cent above last year. The week ending August 25 showed 9,382 applying for employment in Winnipeg, compared to 7,003 a year ago. And the future is even more threatening.

The employers have a policy—both on the introduction of automation and contracting markets. It is speed-up and layoffs. By August 19, Massey-Harris laid off half of its 3,400 work force. GM will call back 1,000 fewer than last year to its Oshawa plant for the 1961 model. Ford will recall 950 fewer than last year at Oakville, and it is continuing to pare down the work force at its Windsor plant.

Diefenbaker's reaction to the facts as DBS presented them was "No observations." His minister of labor has come up with the gem that everyone should gang up on the youth and persuade them to stay in school. The government's policy is do nothing—nothing but cover up for capital.

It is obvious that nothing would come out of a conference with management and government—at best it would only delay labor from, itself, seriously coming to grips with this crucial question.

Not a summit conference of labor and capital, but a summit conference of all-Canadian organized labor, is the crying need of the moment. The forces of organized labor have nowhere to turn, nothing to rely on but their own strength. That strength needs to be mobilized and to be armed with fighting weapons.

Top priority in the demands to be considered should go to the shorter work-week with the same take-home pay—summed up in the slogan 30 for 40. Many unions have made the record in favor of this demand. But the task is to mobilize the mighty forces of labor, for it can only be won in struggle against capital and its government.

A Good Beginning on Cuba

SEPT/60

"But," he said, "in the ultimate analysis what the Cubans are doing is asserting that the soil and resources of their country should belong to them. Threats of intervention in the revolution from other countries should be opposed, no matter where they come from."

These words, according to an item appearing in the back pages of a recent issue of the **Saskatchewan Commonwealth,** were uttered by CCF parliamentary leader Hazen Argue, in his report to the Saskatchewan provincial convention.

Argue and the rest of the CCF MP's speak on many matters in the house and in press interviews—more often than not in a spirit completely alien to liberal, not to mention socialist, principles. But on Cuba, they and the leaders of the Canadian labor movement have been silent—when they haven't mouthed the U.S. State Department line.

We were startled when we read Argue's words, but he spoke them and, inadequate as they are, they are good words. So, with no apology, we pass them on to our readers. In our opinion, those who do not defend social change in other lands will certainly never make social change in their own.

Mid-October, 1960 Vol. 5, No. 10(58) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

DIEF TALKS AS WORST JOBLESS CRISIS LOOMS

By ROSS DOWSON

If talk could meet the needs of the some 400,000 now unemployed, and the estimated 600,000 who will be jobless during what the experts agree will be the worst winter of unemployment since the war, Prime Minister Diefenbaker is meeting the bill. During the last week of October he had three conferences underway—all dealing with unemployment.

There was the one and a half day special conference on unemployment attended by 21 heads of industry, business, farm and labor. There was the dominion-provincial heads of government conference which spent a day on the matter. And to top it off there were the sessions of the Royal Commission on the Auto Industry.

Out of this medley of conferences came plans for — more talk. The presidents of the big three auto corporations closed the doors of the royal commission after promising to give their reply, within about six weeks, to a study on integrating US-Canadian auto production.

Saskatchewan's Premier Douglas, along with other provincial premiers, scored Ottawa for not making the most pressing national problem—unemployment—the first item on the agenda of the dominion-provincial conference. On the last day of the conference Diefenbaker proposed the setting up of a federal-provincial committee to look into unemployment. Douglas charged; "We don't need a committee as much as we need action

Prime Minister Diefenbaker

. . . I can't see any value in a committee of civil servants with no powers to make decisions or set policies."

But Diefenbaker really outdid himself at the national conference on unemployment. There he proposed the setting up of a perpetual talk-shop, and won the approval of not only the top spokesmen of Big Business but of the Canadian Labor Congress as well. Out of his hat he pulled a 25 member productivity council to be created by an act of parliament probably at the next session.

This production council is nothing but a device to give official sanction to and mobilize public opinion behind capital's campaign to put the squeeze on labor, to force labor to work harder and produce more, to place the burden of the crisis of the system onto the backs of the working class.

As the prime minister put it, the council "will find ways of producing greater industrial efficiency through better use of manpower, plant facilities, materials and other resources," adding, in this way Canadian industry might better meet stiffening foreign competition in the world and in the domestic market. Like the wartime labor management committees, which were smashed by the 1946 strike wave, the council is designed to tie the unions up in endless palaver and dissipate the militancy of the rank and file.

Diefenbaker put the council over with the claim that it would be similar to the British Productivity Council set up in 1950. The British Council was set up by the Labor Party to further its all-too-modest nationalization policies. Through its control of business licenses, the British council achieved minor successes in directing new industries into areas where unemployment was highest.

In the second quarter of this year 918 firms failed, racking up liabilities in excess of 25 million—the heaviest debt tally for the period yet recorded in Canada. It is doubtful if there will be many new businesses for a Canadian council to locate. Besides provincial rights would bar such actions if attempted in Canada. To top it off Diefenbaker indicated quite definitely that the Canadian council would have no such purpose.

All during the presentation of briefs by some 21 organizations the prime minister expressed no views. But he departed from this stand just once. It was to reject a suggestion by the Confederation of National Trade Unions, formerly the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor. They proposed just that—that a national council of economic planning be set up. Diefenbaker picked this out to condemn it—describing it as of the essence of socialism.

The trade union brass have the answer to their frantic appeals to the government over the past few months for labor-management summit conferences on unemployment, alright. They have been tricked into a committee composed of representatives of the Canadian Legion, Big Business, agriculture, which will attempt to unload the crisis on the backs of labor.

What is needed is a representative congress of all the forces of organized labor. Through such a congress the unmatchable strength of the unions could be mobilized. Top priority in the demands to be considered should go to the shorter work week with the same take home pay—summed up in the slogan 30 for 40. As research director Lyle Cooper told the Ontario conference of the Packinghouse workers last month, we can get the 30 hour week "if we want it badly enough."

Editorials - WV #58

Calling All Socialists

Oct/60

The reports that we have carried on the progress of the **Vanguard** Trailblazers in their cross-Canada tour of the past four months, and subsequent discussions with them since they have returned to Toronto, have proven extremely valuable for bringing the political scene across the country into sharper focus.

The evidence is quite substantial that now, after several years of soul-searching, following Khrushchov's revelations of the crimes of Stalin and the CCF leadership's settling of accounts with the Regina Manifesto at Winnipeg, a wide scattering who consider themselves to be socialists are thinking in terms of activity again. New layers of youth, both working class and student youth, alarmed by the continued threat of war, the developing crisis in Canadian economy, stimulated by Cuban developments and by all the talk about the new party, are entering into the arena and want to know what the socialists have to say.

This was evidenced by the high rate of renewals which assures the **Vanguard** a stable base amongst politically developed workers across the country, and the 1,750 new readers won to our ranks.

But the most pressing issue confronting socialists in this country is the new labor party, and we would like to present to you the most important conclusions that we have drawn on this question in the light of our own previous views on the matter and the experiences of the VANGUARD Trailblazers.

Now, very favorable possibilities exist, it is a practical proposition, to launch a national socialist caucus that will loyally support and participate in the new party and work to give it a socialist policy.

The trade union brass with their vast and well-oiled machine, the CCF leadership with their parliamentary caucus, their Woodsworth Foundations, etc., represent powerful organized blocs working on the new party forces. In this crucial, formative period of the new party the socialists must organize their forces in order to discuss and arrive at a common agreement as to their policy in the new party.

They cannot stand outside, leaving the workers to the mercy of the reformist misleaders, nor permit the brass to seal off the party ranks from them. No doubt they will be challenged by the promoters of petty bourgeois reformist illusions amongst the new party forces, with being an alien influence, with being in effect a party within the party. But they must fight to establish for themselves what the CCF-CLC brass has assumed for itself—the right to exist and function as an organized force in the new party.

Without arriving at basic agreement on the key questions confronting the new party, without organizing and co-ordinating their forces, there is no possibility for the socialists to play the role they must—fight to win the new party to a socialist policy.

The **Vanguard** is completely at the disposal of this struggle. In the Socialist Educational League there are forces that represent a valuable tradition and have built up a precious experience in this . We propose that the socialists organized in the Vancouver Socialist Information Center, the hundreds of socialists and militants across the country who give their unconditional support to the new party and wish to fight within it for a socialist policy, immediately open up a discussion in the pages of the **Vanguard** so that we can clear away any difficulties and formally launch the socialist wing of the new party.

Policy in Ceylon

While our information does not come from direct sources and is in many ways inadequate, the following has become clear with regards to the policy followed by the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party, the most influential working class party in Ceylon, in the recent elections.

The LSSP formed a tripartisan electoral bloc with the capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike, and the Communist Party. This is in complete reversal of its policy in last March's election when it campaigned against the SLFP and all other parties under the slogan Elect a Sama Samaja government to power, to receive 10 per cent of the popular vote.

This new policy is at variance with the traditional socialist principles of the Trotskyist movement which has opposed collaboration with capitalist parties as injurious to working class interests. It follows the pattern of "Popular Front" combinations in many countries whereby working class parties have been lined up with disastrous results behind a section of the capitalist rulers.

Since the elections, which gave the SLFP 75 of the 157 house seats, the UNP 30, the LSSP 12 and the CP 5, Leslie Goonewardene, secretary of the LSSP, has made a statement which contains no criticism of the capitalist Bandaranaike government or warning to the people against the consequence of its actions. It appears that the LSSP leadership is continuing its false policy of political support of the SLFP.

As the damaging results of their new course become clearer, the majority of the LSSP will, we trust, reassert their adherence to the tested principles of Marxism and return to the revolutionary positions which gave the party such merited prestige among the Ceylonese masses.

The Northern Vanguard

November-December, 1960 Vol. 5, No. 11(59)

SEL Carried Banner in Toronto Elections

By P. KENT

The Tory-Liberal combination headed by Mayor Phillips was swept back into Toronto civic office on December 5. The promise of the new labor party was not tested in the campaign. Both the CCF and the leadership of the Toronto and District Labor council failed to advance the new party as an issue in the election. In so far as independent labor political action was an issue at all it was due to the efforts of the Socialist Educational League which presented Ross Dowson as an alternative to the Liberal-Tory contestants for the mayor's chair and Alan Harris, who with labor-endorsed William Dennison and Herbert Orliffe, plus Jessie Jackson of the Communist Party, filled out the four posts open on the board of control.

The hard-hitting SEL campaign, almost totally blacked out by the daily press, despite limited resources, rolled up 1,656 votes behind Dowson and 14,674 votes behind Harris. The Young Socialist Alliance, fielding John Darling for board of education in working class Ward 6, won the support of 21 per cent of those who went to the polls in that ward.

The policy of the CCF leadership and the official leaders of the organized labor movement proved bankrupt. Of the 11 candidates endorsed for the 23 seats open, only two were elected. Both controller Dennison and alderman Temple were returned. Labor-endorsed alderman Birchard was defeated. Many of them made no mention of their endorsation. As for program, the council identified itself with nothing that any Liberal or Tory wasn't already on record for —this year dropping its long-standing demand for municipal ownership of gas distribution.

Through their failure to contest the highest posts, to present a common and effective program, and a slate, there was no labor vote in this election. In Ward 2, controller-elect Dennison polled three times the vote of labor-endorsed aldermanic candidate MacAulay, and in Ward 5, almost four times the vote of labor-endorsed Doyle. Two of the labor-endorsed candidates polled as little as 9 and 12 per cent of the vote.

On the eve of the election, Dennison compromised the organized labor movement by making unanimous the board of control's decision that winter-work employees need not pay dues to the civic employees union. In the midst of the campaign, Mayor Phillips presented as an unanimous decision of the board, its action of sending every civic employee a letter threatening instant dismissal of anyone who implemented their overwhelming strike decision on November 28, if their demand for an 18 cent increase over two years was not met. Dennison's subsequent claim to be unacquainted with this action, until reading of it in the paper, was met with derision from the rest of the board members.

Mayoralty candidate Ross Dowson called for extension of new party victories into the municipal arena.

Alan Harris polled 14,674 votes in first contest for civic office.

The labor council's policy of abstention in the mayoralty campaign, upon which the daily press focused all interest, led many workers to make a choice in what appeared to be a close contest between the two Liberals and one Tory candidate, and not register a protest behind Dowson. While the council PEC advised it was impermissible to vote Liberal or Tory, at the same time it stated that "we do not feel that" Dowson, who asked for endorsation, "represents the aims and aspirations of this council."

The Liberals made considerable progress in strengthening their machine through the council's policy of "neutrality" by presenting Lamport as a labor candidate with the endorsation of the TTC union, and the special guest of a mass meeting of building trades workers organized by the top brass. And the Tories took the mayor's chair in a walk.

Dowson and Harris presented a program that effectively came to grips with the problems confronting the citizens of Toronto. Some 60,000 in the Metro area are now **unemployed. The SEL demanded that the municipality press the provincial government to immediately cut the legal work-week from 48 hours to 40, and adopt a policy of no layoffs of civic employees, by scaling down the work-week, thus**

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strengthening organized labor's struggle for 30 for 40, and jobs for all.

They called for a reallocation of the tax burden from the backs of the small homeowner, who has suffered an increase of 33 per cent since 1954, onto the wealthy industrial and commercial interests. They urged an open and above board investigation of the exemptions granted to properties in the metro area with an assessed value of over 300 million dollars.

A mayor seriously concerned with the interests of the people of Toronto, said Dowson, would refuse to vote for the funds metro is now spending on what has been called civil defence, including the erection of the Queen's Park fallout shelter. He would identify himself with the aspirations of the thousands who attended the Massey Hall rally urging Canada adopt a policy of unilateral disarmament. The funds now being wasted could provide a much needed national health plan, houses, schools, etc.

This election saw the Communist Party, for the first time since the war and immediate post war years when they had several in office, run an extensive list of candidates—seven in Toronto proper and two in the metro area. Their appearing without party designation played into the hands of the red-baiters. While demanding action on taxes, housing, etc., the CP failed to advance a program for the municipal arena. Their policy of shifting the entire responsibility onto the federal arena, by urging a 50 per cent cut in arms expenditures, meant a non-class program, peaceful co-existence with the Liberals and Tories, on the municipal front.

One of the Toronto dailies declared that "Toronto's Communists received their most humiliating election defeat in years" when

The Young Socialist Alliance campaign behind school trustee candidate John Darling won a warm response from the students.

SEL candidate Harris outpolled their top candidate in the controller contest by almost 500 votes. In the Board of Education contest in Ward 6, YSA-sponsored John Darling polled 6,043 to CPer Elsie Murphy's 3,831 votes.

The YSA's campaign for a seat on the board of education was certainly one of the highlights of the election. They urged abolition of cadet training, the end of religious instruction in the schools, a drastic revision of the text books, etc., and took their views, not only to the electorate, but right into the schools to the students.

Appearing over CBC TV, as the returns showed the re-election of the Tory-Liberal administration, Harris declared that there would be no effective action taken on unemployment, housing, taxes, and that the only way out was the election of a new party administration, armed with a socialist policy such as the SEL advanced in this campaign. He expressed confidence that this would be realized and assured the audience that the SEL would bend every effort to make it so.

Vied for Hearing over Radio & TV

Mayoralty candidate Ross Dowson walked out on an election eve CBC TV mayoralty candidates program. Refusing to comply to a last minute discriminatory programming change and ultimatum that he speak for only two minutes, when the Liberal-Tory candidates were to have 7 to 8 minutes, he denounced the CBC for presenting the same election image as the daily press — that there are only three "serious" candidates. Dowson demanded equal time of the CBC, a nationally owned network, financed by the taxpayers. He stated that his lawyers would investigate the possibility of bringing suit against the CBC should they fail to grant equal time before or immediately after the election.

This year's election campaign saw the most complete blackout that the socialist candidates have ever suffered at the hands of the capitalist press. Dowson and Harris spoke to meeting after meeting across the city. At some, like the meeting arranged by General Truck Drivers Union Local 938, they received a particularly enthusiastic response, the press carried detailed reports of the comments of the other candidates but nothing on Dowson or Harris.

While the press blackout was almost total, for the first time, the Socialist Educational League was able to put the case for a labor mayor and labor administration at city hall over the air. Dowson was granted 10 minutes by CKFH Saturday afternoon November 19, and two seven minute periods over CFRB November 22 and 29. CBC TV gave Dowson a two minute interview when the SEL announced his candidature, and ran a portion of his nomination acceptance speech at city hall over an afternoon program on November 28.

From various comments it appears that the CFRB program was the most effective. All five candidates were given 7 minutes each, one after another. Dowson devoted his first broadcast almost entirely in support of the civic employees, slated to go on strike just five days away against the anti-labor administration of candidates Phillips and Newman. His second broadcast was devoted to an analysis of his opponents' programs, particularly Allan Lamport's, contrasting the SEL's practical program to Lamport's demagogy.

Friends and supporters of the SEL pitched in to distribute some 47,000 copies of its electoral program door to door through all the most concentrated working class areas in the city. Phone enquiries, visitors to the committee room, and participation of new forces, testify to this campaign being the most effective that the revolutionary socialists have conducted since the 1949 campaign when almost 24,000 cast their ballot Dowson for mayor.

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Opportunity and Responsibility

The magnificent response to the new party in the recent Peterborough and Niagara Falls federal by-elections has staggered the Liberals and Tories. New party candidate Walter Pitman took the Peterborough seat which had been in the Tories' back pocket for almost 50 years, not through a shift in public opinion, but in a veritable upheaval.

Two years ago the CCF got its usual poll of less than 2,000. Last month the new party polled almost seven times that vote, cutting 2,000 votes from the Liberals and almost 9,000 from the Tories. The opponents of the new party, try as they would, could not pass Peterborough off as a fluke, for the Niagara Falls new party candidate, if not victorious, polled nearly twice as many votes as the CCF in 1958, froze the Liberal vote and cut the Tories down 40 per cent.

It is no secret that the sweep registered behind the new party candidates even jolted the CCF and CLC leadership. It violated many of the myths that the Coldwell leadership fostered against the left wing that fought to retain the working class character and socialist aims of the movement.

It smashed that carefully fostered fiction that the left, by its efforts to win support for its ideas, compromises the movement in the eyes of the electorate, and certainly, if its views were to prevail, would irremediably shatter it. For years the BC right wing has been claiming that the Trotskyists (as it designates the left) were responsible for the party's defeat in a provincial election. But these victorious by-elections took place just a couple of months following the last national convention in Regina. There the delegates overcame the leadership's opposition and committed the movement to the demand that Canada withdraw from the NATO military alliance. Speaking to the delegates at the Ontario Federation of Labor Convention, the victorious candidate himself attributed the victory to "all people who want a better Canada, people who want peace" . . . still an obscene word in Woodsworth House circles.

The new party victory destroyed another legend—that to win you need a big name. Pitman is a 31 year old school teacher who has lived in the area for only a few years.

Then there is their famous axiom—that you must have the support of the trade union officialdom of the community. By far the biggest local in the Peterborough area is the 3,000 member UE local at General Electric. The UE leadership, in obvious contradiction to the membership, not only failed to support the new party campaign during the election but even after the victory reaffirmed its false opposition in national convention. It is even probable that the Communist Party leadership of the UE openly opposed the new party as did the CP in the recent BC provincial elections. There they contested 19 of the key working class ridings where the new party forces had their best chance, contributing to the defeat of at least two candidates including the nationally-known left winger, Colin Cameron.

The new party vote was certainly a slashing blow for the Tories. But more accurately it reveals that the tide upon which the Diefenbaker government rode into office still runs.

The **Vanguard** commented on the Diefenbaker victory of two and a half years ago, as follows:

"The people of Canada voted for a vision . . . The Canadian people want control of their economic destiny, they want an expanding economy, with jobs and a higher living standard. Only one party projected such a vision. Not, as one would expect, the CCF, under M. J. Coldwell. But the party that has been traditionally the party of the extreme right, the capitalist Progressive Conservative Party. . . .

"This vote does not mark up a victory for Toryism, a swing to the right on the part of the Canadian working class . . . the CCF gave the appearance of being on the far right . . ."

In its retreat from the socialist origins of the movement the Coldwell leadership not only deprived the movement of its appearance as a dynamic alternative to the old line parties but dissipated its hard-won cadres. When the gigantic shift took place the CCF was not there to receive it—Diefenbaker was.

In their evaluation of the Peterborough-Niagara by-elections the editors of the Tory **Globe and Mail** make some sensitive observations. "What the by-elections do show is that Canadians are more changeable, politically than ever they were in the past . . . In brief the 'floating vote' is growing larger, and perhaps now is decisive." They warn the Liberals and the Tories that each "lacks a philosophy with which the voter can identify himself, to which he can remain loyal. Neither party stands—or even gives the appearance of standing—for basic purposes, for fundamental purposes."

It is apparent that the Canadian working people have high hopes for the new party. They anticipate that it will come to grips with the problems that are mounting before them.

The **Vanguard**, and our predecessor **Labor Challenge,** while giving unconditional support to the CCF as a fundamental break from capitalist politics, saw as its supreme task the education, organization and direction of the socialist wing in the party.

We have no reason to believe that the Coldwell-Lewis leadership have learned any of the major lessons of the past 27 years which resulted in their sinking of the CCF. That is why, so that the great promises of the new party are not compromised and dissipated, we think it vital that the socialists organize their forces. They must fight to establish their right to exist and function, as does the right wing, as an organized force in the new party in order to win it to a socialist policy.